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REPRINTED FROM NATION'S CITIES

April 1967

# WHAT KIND OF CITY DO WE WANT?

**T**HIS is the most urgent question facing urban America today.

Everybody is talking about it, writing about it, making speeches about it. But the more they talk and write the greater the confusion about it seems to grow. Much of the talk seems to come from people who don't like cities and just want to get away from them; and too much of the talk comes from people who think the local needs and problems of our cities can only be solved from Washington.

In the hope of bringing some order into all this confusion the National League of Cities joined The American Institute of Architects, the Lincoln Foundation, and the Luce magazines in sponsoring a roundtable conference of 33 experts described by New-York's Mayor Lindsay as "The Who's Who of Urban Development". Purpose of the conference was not to seek new ideas and new solutions, but rather to explore how broad an area of expert agreement already exists behind all the seeming confusion.

The roundtable panel represented many different disciplines and many different viewpoints. Perhaps surprisingly, perhaps not so surprisingly, the roundtable revealed a broad area of almost unanimous agreement on almost every urban problem.

No one panelist subscribed to every conclusion and every recommendation in the consensus. Nevertheless, this conference report reflects hundreds of comments and suggestions by the participants during the months which followed the original round-table discussions. More than an expression of personal opinions and experiences, it stands as a collective document which attempts to confront honestly the widely diverse elements of the contemporary city.

# PANEL

## From the American Institute of Architects

MORRIS KETCHUM, JR., F.A.I.A., President 1965-66  
WILLIAM J. CONKLIN, New York  
BERTRAND GOLDBERG, Chicago  
VICTOR GRUEN, F.A.I.A., Los Angeles  
RICHARD W. SNIBBE, New York  
MAX D. URBAHN, President, New York Chapter  
NDRVAL C. WHITE, New York



## From the National League of Cities

JEROME P. CAVANAGH, Mayor of the  
City of Detroit—President 1965-66  
PATRICK HEALY—Executive Director  
HENRY W. MAIER, Mayor of the  
City of Milwaukee—President 1964-65  
ARTHUR NAFTALIN, Mayor of the  
City of Minneapolis—NLC Advisory Council

## From the American Institute of Planners

DAVID LOEKS, President 1964-1966

## From the American Society of Landscape Architects

LAWRENCE HALPRIN, San Francisco

## From the Bureau of Public Roads

EDWARD H. HOLMES, Director of Planning

## From the Chamber of Commerce of the United States

DR. CARL MADDEN, Chief of Economics

## From the Federal Government

WILLIAM COLMAN, Executive Director,  
Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental  
Relations  
WILLIAM L. SLAYTON, Urban Renewal Commissioner  
(Now Executive Director of Urban America)

## From the Ford Foundation

PAUL YLVISAKER, Director, Public Affairs Program  
(Now Commissioner, Dept. of Community  
Affairs, State of New Jersey)

## From the Institute of Public Administration

LYLE C. FITCH, President

## From the Lincoln Foundation

RAYMOND MOLEY, Adviser

## From the National Association of Home Builders

LEON D. WEINER, President 1967

## From the National Housing Center

THOMAS P. COOGAN, Chairman

## From the National Association of Real Estate Boards

WILLIAM H. DOLBEN, JR., Chairman,  
Build America Better Committee

## From the New York City Government

WILLIAM F. R. BALLARD, Chairman,  
Planning Commission  
THOMAS P. F. HDVING, Parks Commissioner

## From the Tri-State Transportation Commission

DR. J. DOUGLAS CARROLL, JR., Executive Director

## From the Universities

DR. CHARLES ABRAMS, Chairman,  
Department of Planning, Columbia University  
DR. M. MASON GAFFNEY, Chairman,  
Department of Economics,  
University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee  
DR. WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON, Director,  
Institute of Urban and Regional Development,  
University of California, Berkeley  
DR. ARCHIBALD M. WOODRUFF, JR., Provost,  
University of Hartford

## Developers

ROBERT B. PEASE, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
ROBERT E. SIMON, JR., Reston, Va.

## Moderator and Rapporteur

PERRY PRENTICE, Time, Inc.

Our urban problems would be hard enough to solve in a static urban economy with a static urban population, a static racial and social mix, and a static transportation method and system—but our urban economy and population are anything but static. On the contrary, our urban economy, society and technology are all undergoing great simultaneous changes; our urban population is doubling to a projected 1999 level we over 250 million-plus, and before 1999 our urban wealth will at least quadruple, as the average income of twice as many families doubles to a projected \$15,000-a-year-plus-of-today's-purchasing power. And even now, before these increases, our urban transportation system is already near the breaking point.

So within the next generation, our cities will have to be almost completely rebuilt twice as big and, we hope, at least twice as good. Within a generation we will have to erect and find the money for more new urban homes, business buildings and facilities than we have built in all the years since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. We will have to replace at least half of all today's urban dwellings because they will no longer be good enough for anyone to want to live in when the average family has sufficient income to qualify for a \$25,000 FHA-financed house. (This means we should build at least half as many new homes to replace decaying housing inside or close in our cities as we add on the outskirts.) And we will probably have to replace half of today's business and industrial buildings because they will no longer meet the vastly different needs of 1999 business.

In addition, many of our cities will almost certainly have to be restructured to fit some new and radically different means of transportation. High-density cities like New York are finding that the additional facilities needed to bring in just one more car per day during commuter hours will cost \$21,000; low-density cities like Los Angeles are finding the cost, in money, time and space, relying solely on the automobile equally bad.

Most of today's cities "just grew" (and often "grew" too fast) in response to yesterday's different social and economic demands. This is one reason why most central cities are already in de-



trouble with problems they have neither the money nor the authority to cure—most of them problems that call for major rebuilding and/or restructuring. They are deep in problems concerned with slums, traffic, parking, sprawl, ugliness, housing; with recreation needs; with air and water pollution; with overtaxation and undertaxation.

They are stuck with far more than their share of the costs created by national problems like education, poverty and segregation. Their municipal costs are climbing twice as fast as their local tax base.

They are choked by obsolete political boundaries that 1) encourage both people and industry to seek tax havens in the suburbs and 2) make co-ordinated planning difficult and often just plain impossible. They are losing prosperous families and their money to the suburbs almost as fast as they are herding more poor families and their costs into the slums. They are losing blue-collar jobs to the outskirts almost as fast as they can add new white-collar openings downtown. They consume four times as much land as they use. They are stuck with a tax system that penalizes improvements and subsidizes obsolescence, blight, sprawl and the spread of slums, and they are stuck with a concept of landed property that lets landowners capitalize for their own private profit all the economies and advantages of urbanism, so city dwellers must pay twice over for the multibillion-dollar values they themselves create living close together—values they have already paid for once by an enormous investment of both public and private money.

North, south, east and west, big cities and small, new cities and old, all alike suffer in greater or lesser degree from all these problems. High-density cities like New York may have more trouble with congestion; low-density cities like Los Angeles may have more trouble with sprawl, but the latter has congestion at its center and the former has sprawl on its outskirts. The bigger the city, the bigger its problems have seemed to grow; the older the city, the more deeply they are likely to be entrenched. And the former president of The American Institute of Architects adds a word of urgent warning:

"We cannot remake our cities without solving their painful social problems. As blight, congestion and lack of good-enough schools drive middle-income residents from our urban centers, the poor move in, the gap between the rich and poor grows, and the suburban noose draws tighter. If the present trend continues, the untrained and undereducated poor will become the dominant population group in almost all our major cities within the next few years. The consequences of allowing our cities to become the poor-houses of America had better be recognized while there is still time to avoid them."

Despite all these troubles and problems, there must be something very good, very compelling and very magnetic about our cities because year in and year out more and more people are flocking to live in or near them. America's whole population growth in the next generation will be concentrated in cities and their suburbs; by the year 2000 they will add something like 150 million more people. Just when our cities seem to be suffering from more troubles than ever before, they are in fact enjoying the greatest urban and suburban boom the world has ever known.

Thus the building and rebuilding of our cities becomes an enormous problem and an enormously exciting challenge—a far greater opportunity than if there were less need to do almost everything over, new and better.

## We will spend trillions

To meet this challenge and seize this opportunity, our cities will need all the help they can get—from architects and planners, from the upper-income families who have fled to the suburbs to escape the cities' problems, from the state governments and from the federal government, of course.

All of us applaud and welcome the growing interest in urban problems shown by the federal government, but, alas, this interest is still finding expression more in words than in dollars. The federal government is busy casting itself in the role of the great benefactor of cities and the great subsidizer of urban improvement; but the hard fact is that the federal government takes many,

many times more money out of our cities in taxes than it would dream of returning in subsidies.

In 24 years the Housing and Home Finance Agency and its successor, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, has not kicked back to the cities a nickel of taxpayer money for housing and urban development; in every year but two, its receipts from insurance and other nontax sources have exceeded its expenditures. For fiscal years 1966 and 1967, HUD actually budgeted minus \$100 million of tax money for housing and urban development. City dwellers pay most of the federal taxes, but the farmers still get back from Washington eight times as much money as the cities; by some calculations, 13 times as much. And most of the money the cities do get back is earmarked, not to ease the cities' present financial burdens but to encourage new municipal spending by offering to share the increased cost of meeting responsibilities the cities are not yet meeting.

This is no time to think small about the money our cities will need. It will cost not billions but trillions of dollars to correct what is wrong with our central cities today, while they are doubling their metropolitan populations and their more-and-more affluent citizens are doubling their demands for better everything.

Between now and the year 2000, someone will have to put up close to \$1,500 billion for new and renewal nonfarm housing alone (nearly half of it urban replacement housing); someone will have to put up at least another \$1,000 billion for new and replacement commercial, industrial and utility construction; and someone will have to put up at least another \$1,000 billion for all the new and better community facilities needed to go with the new and better housing: new streets, highways, parking; new and better schools and colleges; new park attractions, playgrounds, transportation; new smoke controls, sewers and sewage treatment, water supplies; hospitals, etc., etc., etc. (Metropolitan New York alone projects a need for 61 more college campuses for 1.3 million more students, 100 more hospitals with 45,000 more beds, etc.).

Over 33 years, the money needed to build and rebuild our cities twice as big and twice as good

will average out to over \$100 billion a year, and even in tomorrow's far more affluent economy, it is just plain nonsense to hope that even half that annual amount will be provided by any government: national, state or local. Governments will be hard pressed to find enough tax money to meet the \$30 billion-a-year need for more and better community facilities.

The rest can be found only by harnessing the profit motive, much more effectively than now, to urban renewal and urban improvement, and making as much as possible of this enormous enterprise attractive and profitable for the investment of private capital. Private capital will get its money's worth only if we make good planning, good design and good building more profitable than bad. And it will be a lot easier to interest private capital in urban betterment if the local tax system is modified to encourage new construction and better land use, instead of (as now) penalizing improvements and subsidizing blight, slums and sprawl.

## **People can have fuller choice if we stop looking backward**

"Tomorrow's cities can be designed to provide much greater efficiency, much greater joy and delight than people have any notion of," says city planner Ballard.

Adds Mayor Naftalin: "Right now today few cities measure up to their greater opportunities for better living."

And Mayor Maier: "We can and must make tomorrow's city a far better place for its people. All our urban institutions must work together to make tomorrow's city a place where each citizen will have a chance to achieve his own full potential in an atmosphere of freedom, opportunity, openness, community and, let us hope, culture."

And ex-Parks Commissioner Hoving: "Cities should be much more fun for everybody—poor and rich alike."

With our fast-growing affluence and our fantastically expanding technology, there is no earthly reason why American cities should have



to be dull or ugly or dirty or polluted or traffic-choked or expensive to live and work in.

There is no reason why cities should sprawl far out beyond their boundaries to blight the countryside with leap-frogging and premature subdivision.

There is no reason why cities should let slums and other inadequate, obsolete or decrepit buildings clutter and pre-empt most of their good close-in locations.

There is no reason why our cities should waste most of their land, most of their streets, their parks, their open space, their waterfronts, their rooftops.

There is no reason why cities should waste most of the third dimension that could multiply their convenience and their livability at much less cost than sprawl.

There is no reason why people who like high-density living should not also enjoy open-space recreation quite near at hand, nor any reason why people who prefer low-density living should not enjoy it much closer to where they work and shop.

There is no reason why good urban planning should constantly be frustrated by obsolete political boundaries.

There is no reason why city governments should be kept too broke to make their services good and desirable instead of just cheap and tolerable.

There is no reason why our cities should not be good places to bring up children, with good schools and provision for safe outdoor play nearby.

There is no reason why our central cities should be abandoned to the poor and the disadvantaged, or why they should be stuck with so much more than their share of the problems of poverty and segregation.

There is no reason why all our thinking about cities and city living should lag 60 years behind our time.

Making our cities twice as livable for tomorrow's twice-as-big and twice-as-affluent urban populations will take a lot of money; it will take a lot of replanning, redesigning and rethinking—both thought and forethought.

But we are all agreed that tomorrow's city could, should and would offer its people far better, easier, healthier, more convenient living closer to where they work, shop and play, IF.

We are likewise agreed that tomorrow's city could, should and would offer its business far better and more profitable working conditions closer to bigger markets, closer to supporting services, and closer to more abundant and more specialized labor, IF:

If we accept the simple mathematical fact that for most people, urban living has to mean living close together, and if we focus our planning and spending on practical ways to make living close together more rewarding and less expensive.

If we stop looking backward and dreaming that tomorrow's urban life could be more like yesterday's village life, and relinquish the notion that low density is somehow better for everybody.

If we make good use of the new tools offered by today's fantastic new technologies—new tools so numerous that we can mention only two:

1. Airconditioning, which the ex-vice president of the National Association of Home Builders calls 'the greatest improvement for indoor living and indoor working since we brought the toilet indoors,' an improvement that makes cities as livable in summer as in winter.

2. The electronic elevator, which—almost unnoticed—is changing the potentials of urban living almost as much as the automobile.

If we make sure the city has a vibrant downtown to draw people and business from far and near to live, work, shop and have fun.

If we give some governmental agency the responsibility, the authority and the money needed to coordinate and make sense out of today's chaos of conflicting urban and suburban planning.

If we stop asking local government to pay costs that are not essentially local—costs that are borne by the central government in almost all other lands.

If we restructure our biggest cities as radiating clusters of high-density land use.

If we persuade or compel city people and city industry to stop trying to get something for nothing at other people's expense, i.e., stop trying to save a little of their own money by choking the

city streets, polluting the city water, polluting the city air, etc.

If we harness the profit motive forward instead of backward to good land use and good planning, so private enterprise will find it profitable to assume, without subsidy, most of the cost of rebuilding our cities bigger and in every way better.

If we stop letting landowners make city living expensive by capitalizing, for their private profit, all the benefits of today's huge urban investment of other people's money.

If we stop waiting for massive state and federal aid before tackling all the little jobs that need doing first.

If we give more thought to making cities good places for rich and poor to live in and enjoy, and less thought to getting out of them.

If we can find a cure for the problems and costs of segregation and one-class neighborhoods.

For people, this means living closer together to maximize their freedom of choice in housing, career and employment opportunities, direct personal contact and confrontation, meeting people and making more kinds of friends. This closeness also increases freedom of choice in places to shop, and places to pursue leisure-time cultural and recreational activity.

The more people who live close together, the greater their variety of choices should be and the greater their chance of being able to get what they choose to want. The more people who share the cost of each choice, the smaller its cost to any individual, and the greater the combined ability of the group to support cultural activities and special services they could not otherwise afford.

Some people like to live closer than others. Some people choose high density because they want to be closest to the center of urban life; people who work downtown have an added reason for living close to downtown. Other people choose lower density because time-saving is less important to them than having their own little half-acre; people who work in an outlying re-

search center, university or factory have an added reason for living farther out.

But these differences are only differences in degree. Cliff dwellers and suburbanites alike are drawn to the city to enjoy advantages only close-in living can offer, and most suburbanites wish they could enjoy their kind of living without traveling so far each day to get it.

For business, minimizing the handicaps of distance means easy access to more abundant and more specialized labor, to a greater variety of supporting services, to government offices, to low-cost mass transportation, to supplies in greater volume and greater variety, and to more customers and bigger markets.

For business as for people, the consequence of closeness and concentration should be greater efficiency, greater economy and lower costs.

Some kinds of business have to locate closer to the center than others. Some must locate downtown for maximum access to markets, to clients, to supporting service or to a great variety of labor. Other kinds of business are more self-contained and so find it more profitable to trade maximum access for greater space—to accept less accessibility on the outskirts in order to get more space than they could afford at the center. Still others may find easy access to a freeway more important than easy access to downtown.

But once again, the difference is only one in degree. The advertising agency downtown and the factory in the suburbs are both drawn to the city for advantages only closeness can offer, and most suburban industry would relocate closer to the labor center and the transportation hub if closer-in land were cheaper.

The shape and pattern and density of our metropolitan areas are changing as cars and trucks lessen our urban dependence on mass transportation to a single center, and the telephone makes semipersonal contact fast and cheap over great distances. Motorized road transportation has made, is making and must continue to make an enormous contribution to ease and flexibility of urban movement and urban contacts. And it is no longer necessary to go to the transportation center for so many kinds of shopping, or to find employment in those kinds of industry that are least de-



pendent on quick access to markets or supporting services (notably big factories).

But however their pattern may change, the reason and purpose of cities remains unchanged and unchangeable—the same today as in the railroad age, the canal-boat age, and the stagecoach age—to bring people and businesses together for ease and variety of access and contact.

## High central density would help preserve close-in amenity

Overcrowding is no problem at all on Park Avenue with up to 1000 people to the acre. Overcrowding had nothing to do with the explosion in Watts, where the density was not much more than 20 to the acre.

At the urban densities that command the highest rents from those best able to afford to live as they like (i.e., on New York's Park Avenue, Chicago's Gold Coast or San Francisco's Nob Hill), there are only three US cities whose entire population could not live, work, shop, skate, swim, play tennis, worship, attend concerts and go to the movies on the 18,000 acres within three miles of the center, leaving all the land outside that three-mile circle for heavy manufacturing, golf courses, market gardening, low-density living and acre zoning.

For example and specifically: At the density proposed for New York's new World Trade Center and Battery Park Addition, the biggest city's whole population could live and work and shop and play in Manhattan Island and the close-in quarter of Brooklyn, leaving most of Brooklyn and all of Queens, the Bronx and Richmond for open space. At the density which tenants seem to like in Chicago's Marina City, the whole population could live and work and shop and find plenty of recreation within two blocks of the Chicago River between Lake Michigan and the Merchandise Mart.

We are not suggesting that all our cities should be rebuilt for any such concentration. And most certainly we do not recommend that all the people of any big city should concentrate downtown, for

many people would do better to live closer to some satellite density planned and developed around some activity that benefits from being near the city, but does not need to be right at the hub (such as a university, a big manufacturing plant or a shopping center).

Nevertheless, we think the simple geometric and mathematical facts about living close are important to remember. And we are all agreed that our cities should be planned for living and working as close together as is compatible with the other requirements of good business and the good life.

None of us is against low-density living with private outdoor space around each home. On the contrary, all of us wish people who want low-density living could enjoy it much closer to town than they can today, to save them the countless hours they now waste getting to and from their homes, and we all agree with landscape architect Halprin that "Low density offers people something that high density doesn't, especially for families with young children."

But we wish more people would face up to the obvious fact that as our urban population doubles, the only way to bring low density close in is to develop much higher density at the center, with much less land waste everywhere. Says city planner Ballard, "With rising population we will have to design our central cities to much higher densities to make any sense at all." Mayor Naftalin adds, "The test is how we combine high density and low density."

And almost all of us sympathize with the former AIA president who says, "Sprawl city—and by that I mean the great megalopolis spreading from Boston to Washington, from Pittsburgh to Milwaukee, from San Francisco to San Diego—is too wasteful because you duplicate your services, your streets, your utilities, all the civic functions people pay for in taxes. You spread them out thin; you use up your land. In the process you destroy the countryside and waste our heritage."

If the No. 1 reason and purpose for cities is to maximize the advantages of closeness and overcome the handicaps created by distance, it follows that sprawl is the direct denial of that reason and purpose.



1.



2.



3.

**1. CAVANAGH:** Too many people fled to the suburbs to escape the cities' problems.

**2. GRUEN:** Our city boundaries are 100 years behind the times.

**3. ABRAMS:** The tax power has never been coupled with the planning power.

## Urban growth will be vertical

Two generations of urban Americans have been obsessed, bewitched, dazzled and blinded by the outward explosion touched off by the automobile, which made millions of outlying acres newly accessible and deflated the price of close-in land by temporarily lifting the pressure to maximize its use.

Ninety years ago, the limit on urban spread depended upon how long it took to get to work by foot or by carriage. Sixty years ago the limit had been doubled, defined by how long it took to get to work by foot and train or trolley. Thirty years ago the spread limit had doubled again, to how long it took to drive to work on streets laid out for horse-drawn traffic. Today the spread limit has doubled once again, and now depends upon how long it takes to drive to work with an assist from our multibillion-dollar expressways.

We have been so obsessed with this two-dimensional explosion that we have given far too little thought to the third dimension. Average building height in every city except New York and Chicago is still only about two stories; average ground coverage is still only about 15 percent; in some central cities, nearly half the ground is preempted by streets and parking lots. Many municipal costs per family are multiplied as the urban radius sprawls farther and farther out; average families spend more than half as much money on their cars as they spend to eat, and almost two-thirds as much as they spend to own or rent their homes; and millions of workers spend a quarter as much time getting to and from their jobs as they spend actually working.

Making today's urban area twice as big horizontally for tomorrow's twice-as-big urban population would be impossibly costly in dollars, intolerably costly in wasted land, unbearably costly in added travel time to and from work and to and from open-space recreation. Doubling their area by growing up instead of out would cost far less and add only seconds instead of minutes to everybody's travel time.

Whether we like it or not, most urban growth in the next 30 years will have to be up, not out.

The problem is not whether we would like to



grow upward, but how to grow upward in a way everybody would like.

Even sprawling Los Angeles is finally learning this simple lesson and building three times as many new apartments as single-family detached homes; even in suburbia, the trend from coast to coast is to two-story houses instead of one.

Today's greatest land waste is not the vacant lots and underused acreage of suburban sprawl. It is our failure to put more high-value, close-in land to more than one use, on more than one level. For example, in Chicago only half the land inside the downtown Loop is profitably rented above the retail level, and right beside the Loop, land enough for half a million people to live and work and play on is used only for railroad yards that would better be covered over. Los Angeles actually squanders nearly a quarter of its downtown on single-level parking.

Architects, planners, builders and civic officials were all too slow to grasp the full significance of two great changes:

1. Today's high-speed automatic elevators make vertical transportation much quicker, cheaper and more convenient than horizontal and
2. Whereas most products can be used only once at a time, the new economy of vertical transportation makes it possible to use land simultaneously as often as a hundred times, with each repeated use apt to be more desirable than the use below (i.e., with the highest floors commanding some of the highest rents). The lower levels are best for stores, parking, schools and other places of assembly, but the upper floors are much more valuable for offices and apartments.

Just because land has been used once for a railroad yard is no reason why it cannot be used again for a sports arena or an office building or an apartment or all three. Land used once for a store on the lower floors can be used again for a residential hotel. Land used once for a block-size parking garage can also be used for a block-size city park. A school building site can be used again for a football field on the roof.

Now, at last, architects, planners and developers are beginning to correct this multibillion-dollar waste by learning the economics and applying the economics of horizontally stratified

land use. They would have stopped the waste sooner had it not been subsidized by today's ubiquitous practice of underassessing and undertaxing underused land. Chicago's Loopside railroad yards and Los Angeles' one-level parking lots would have been built over for multiple use long ago had they been taxed at more nearly their potential multilevel land-use value, instead of a fraction of their actual single-level value.

Twenty years ago, examples of stratified land use were hard to find, except that in nonprestige neighborhoods people "lived above the store." New York had an office building built over a church; Chicago had a church perched on top of an office building. Chicago had the Merchandise Mart and New York had a dozen luxury apartments and the Waldorf-Astoria sitting over the New York Central tracks; New York had one luxury apartment with a small swimming pool and two tennis courts in the basement. Cincinnati had a new hotel terraced on top of a department store.

But now the change is coming with a rush. New York is tearing down its monumental Penn Station to make room for a new below-ground terminal under a new sports arena and a new office building; covering the Pennsylvania yards with an office building wrapped around a terminal warehouse; and getting set to recover the land cost of new schools by letting private builders erect high-rise apartments above them. Washington is wrapping high-rent offices around parking garages that occupy otherwise hard-to-rent interior space and seeking free land for public housing over new expressways. Philadelphia is running pedestrian malls block after block below street level. Bartlesville has a Frank Lloyd Wright tower —half apartments, half offices.

Chicago offers the outstanding example of stratification's potential in Marina City, which puts 40 stories of apartments on top of 20 stories of parking on top of two levels for shopping on top of a marina for 200 pleasure boats, all integrated with 16 floors of offices, a theater, bowling alleys, tennis courts and a swimming pool, thereby setting a precedent that New York, Denver, Pittsburgh and San Francisco have been quick to follow. Hartford has bridged two avenues to create a three-city-block open plaza, two

stories up on the roofs of the street-level stores, banks and garages. Apartments in many cities are including swimming pools and other recreation in space that would otherwise be wasted. And most cities are beginning (not always wisely) to require off-street parking under all new high-rise buildings, even in areas where more parking facilities can only serve to bring in more cars and create more congestion.

Examples of multilevel, multipurpose reuse of the land are still too few, but the trend is obvious and the potential for making high densities much pleasanter, more efficient, more economical and more convenient is enormously exciting.

This exciting potential includes the much broader use of many devices, such as:

- arcaded sidewalks to permit wider downtown streets
- decked-over streets to create pedestrian malls between one-floor-up shop windows
- nursery and primary school classrooms, day-care and babysitting centers built into every high-density apartment block (already standard practice in Russia)
- coed bachelor apartment houses with swimming pools and other recreational centers on the lower floors, to solve that most urgent middle-income urban problem—boy meets girl, girl meets boy
- outdoor play and recreation space high above the streets, either on the rooftops, on an open floor or in interior courts built over street-to-street lower levels
- underground sidewalks running for blocks, as in Rockefeller Center
- ample off-street loading facilities replacing the almost-unrentable ground floor under central-city loft buildings (like New York's now-almost-impassable garment center)
- highways decked over railroad and rapid transit rights-of-way.

Whenever land is put to stratified multipurpose use, human activities should get top priority on light and air; service functions should go underground (as in Victor Gruen's revolutionary plan for rescuing downtown Fort Worth).

## Vibrant downtown is magnet

The essence of urbanism is variety, and only a vibrant night-and-day "downtown" (i.e., center of urban life) can provide and support the variety of shopping, services, contacts, job opportunities and culture and recreation needed to make the city a magnet, drawing people and business from far and near. Without such a magnet, there is no good-enough reason for people to want to live in the city instead of outside. And without such a magnet, it will be difficult, perhaps impossible, to persuade enough middle-class families to return from the suburbs to the central city.

Downtown variety needs thousands of people to support it; it takes great variety to bring in thousands of people. The bigger the crowds, the greater the variety they can support; the greater the variety, the bigger the crowds. To support this maximum variety, downtown needs people not just 9 to 5, but all day long and far into the night; and it helps to have people living and sleeping close in, as they do in most of the cities whose downtowns have the strongest pull: New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Denver, New Orleans, Washington, Boston and Philadelphia. The more attractions downtown can offer, the more people will want to live close; the more people who live



**WHEATON:** We must plan for a future when incomes exceed \$10,000 and most people will be college graduates



close, the easier it will be for downtown to support more attractions, night and day.

The more compact downtown is kept, the easier it will be for more people to take advantage of its variety for business and pleasure. The easier downtown is to get to, the less pull it will need to draw people in, and the farther it will pull from.

A strong downtown magnet is well worth spending money to create, if the city has none. It is well worth spending money to preserve and strengthen, if such a magnet is already present and pulling. But there is a limit to how much public money should be spent to protect the real estate investment in pre-Depression buildings, in what used to be—but no longer is—the heart of town.

Downtown is not a location; it is an activity; it is where the action and variety are today—not necessarily where the action and variety used to be. New York's Wall Street area has not been a true downtown since before the Civil War. Today it is just a high-rent, one-purpose satellite in an off-center location, miles from the nearest railroad station, bus terminal or airport connection; miles from the shopping center, the amusement center, the cultural center and the fastest-growing commercial center. Likewise, what calls itself downtown Los Angeles has not yet been remade

into a true downtown, even though the multimillion-dollar public investment in expressways has made it the easiest-to-reach spot in that hard-to-find-yourself-anywhere metropolis, and even though the multimillion-dollar investment in new office buildings shows promise of making it once again the business center.

Says architect Gruen: "In Los Angeles, if you want to find the best hotel, you don't go downtown. If you want to see a first-run movie, you never go downtown. If you want quality and variety of merchandise, you never shop downtown, for the stores there are just a shabby second-rate shopping center, catering to the low-income areas south and east. Everything connected with the better way of life has moved away. Until just recently, Los Angeles downtown has been supported mostly by the huge civic center, which employs 10,000 people on the public payroll, and by the political lawyers and financial lawyers and the like who feel they must stay close to the seat of government."

As for New York's Wall Street, there are no big stores there, for stores cannot live on the lunch-hour trade; there are almost no restaurants there other than quick lunches, for restaurants cannot prosper on one meal a day. There are no hotels there, no theaters, no movies; even the aquarium is gone; and after 6 p.m. and on weekends there are almost no people.

## Urban responsibility is chaos

A more chaotic chaos would be hard to dream up than the chaos over what government should do what, and what government should pay for what, to meet our urban needs.

Responsibility is divided horizontally four ways between local, county, state and federal government. It is divided vertically scores and sometimes hundreds of ways, first between the central city government and all the surrounding town and village governments, and then again between all these governments and a still greater proliferation of special tax districts, administrations and authorities—bridge authorities, park authorities, water districts, sewer districts, fire districts, school districts, library districts, gar-



**COLMAN:** Parked cars dilute the central business district. This is self-defeating.

bage districts, hospital districts, etc. Within the local governments, authority is often divided still further, with the school board going its own way to spend more money than anyone else. In Washington the same confusion is repeated. Both the Senate and the House scatter responsibility for urban affairs legislation among half a dozen un-coordinated committees. Fifty different federal agencies are now working on the problem of water supply and water pollution (up from 25 found by the Hoover Commission in 1955). Grants for urban renewal come from one department, grants for roads come from another, grants for pollution control from a third. The Interior Department is spending \$25 million to preserve and beautify the historic heart of Philadelphia, but the millions of dollars needed to cover over the expressway that will cut it off from the river will have to come (or not come) from the Commerce Department.

No city government collects anywhere near enough money of its own to take on the whole job of coping with all problems that confront it. One reason no city government has enough money is that few states let the cities collect enough taxes, even if they want to. The second reason is that few cities like to collect any more taxes than they have to; they would rather get grants-in-aid from the states or from Washington. The third reason is that most cities are afraid to raise taxes for fear of speeding the exodus of industry. The fourth reason is that the cities' only exclusive revenue source is the property tax, and most states make their cities collect most of their property taxes, not on land (which is undertaxed) but on improvements (which are already so overtaxed that the tax inhibits even some of the most needed improvements). The fifth (and perhaps the biggest) reason is that in this country, local government is stuck with enormous costs that in other countries are paid as a matter of course by the central government, so, paradoxically, the local tax burden in most cities is too high even though the tax take is too low!

One result of keeping city governments poor is that too few city services are good enough. A second is that few suburbs want to be annexed to cities that can't afford good schools and other

top-grade services. The third result is the proliferation of special tax districts to pay for services the cities have no money to provide (Los Angeles has 246 of them). Fourth, cities are afraid to raise more taxes even if they could, for fear of driving still more people and businesses to tax havens in the suburbs. Fifth, many industries are moving to suburban tax havens anyhow. Finally, the sixth result is that nobody can tell just who is responsible for what. Schools, for example, are paid for partly by the local school district, partly by the state, a little by Washington, with the state setting the standards, the local authorities picking the teachers and the federal government decreeing the racial balance. Streets and highway costs are split four ways, and the city cannot control how new state and federal highways cut them up. (Says the past president of the AIA, "We rip our cities with motorways and delude ourselves that we are doing it in the name of progress.") Too many in-city expressways are allowed to split neighborhoods like a Chinese Wall; even depressed roadways like Detroit's divide the two sides like a river.

Most of us agree that the political boundaries of our cities are archaic and should be brought in line with today's realities by annexation, by metropolitan federation or otherwise. All of us agree that the tax limitations and tax policies forced on our cities are archaic and should be corrected.

Too many planners today are planning at cross purposes. Highway planners plan new roads and new interchanges with too little regard for the way they destroy neighborhoods and cut cities to pieces, and how many families they dislocate. City planners plan for urban growth while suburban planners too often plan to block it by large-lot zoning. Suburbs want upper-income families planned in, factory workers planned out, city money planned in, city problems planned out. New York's bridge authority plans \$21,000 per car to bring more cars into a city already half-paralyzed by too many cars which nobody plans to park. San Francisco's Bay area plans a billion-dollar transit system that is sure to force rebuilding everything near each station, but nobody plans what to rebuild. Neighboring Oakland and Berkeley each make great plans so uncoordinated



that they leave streets dead-ending at the city line; plans that would put Oakland's heaviest industry right next to Berkeley's waterfront park.

And the minute any plan starts taking shape, speculators too often double its cost by skyrocketing the price of land needed to carry it out. "Good land planning is impossible in the face of land speculation," is the dismal dictum from the International Housing Center in Rotterdam.

Getting anything done about good plans is difficult and discouraging at best. It is doubly difficult and discouraging in urban America, where it is next to impossible for any government or government agency to get the clearly recognized responsibility, authority or money needed to coordinate scores and hundreds of conflicting plans and see that a coordinated plan is carried out.

## Why must cities shoulder twin burden of poverty, education?

Perhaps the worst consequence of today's chaos and confusion over what level of government should do what is this: The federal government is being asked to get involved in a lot of local problems that could better be handled locally, while the local governments are being forced to pay a lot of not-really-local costs they cannot afford.

One big reason so many city governments are too poor to pay their full part in making their cities pleasant for people and profitable for business is that, in the US, most of the cost of public education is charged to local government (sometimes the city itself; sometimes the school district). These costs were small enough for local government to carry when few children went beyond eighth grade, and schooling meant mostly the three Rs; they are now far too heavy to charge against the revenues traditionally reserved for local government (i.e., the property tax), and they will soon redouble.

The United States is almost the only country on earth where the central government does not pay all the costs of free public education.

So instead of saying that our state and federal governments are helping our local governments

pay for schools that are a local responsibility, it might be more correct to say that our local governments are crippling themselves financially to help our central governments pay for schools, whose support should be the responsibility of the central government.

A second reason why our city governments are too poor to make their local services good is that the local property tax is still being tapped for many of the costs of poverty and many of the costs required by today's much-more-generous spending for poor relief. These costs are set by state and federal policy, and most of us think they should all be paid out of state and federal taxes. Urban poverty is now concentrated in the central cities, so Professor Netzer's research for the Brookings Institution states flatly that "Before the tax differential between cities and suburbs can be erased, the cost of poverty services will have to be taken off the back of the property tax."

Poverty and education are not local problems or local responsibilities in the same sense, or to anything like the same degree, that police and fire protection, water supply, garbage collection, sewage disposal, parks and playgrounds, local streets, off-street parking, suburban commutation and urban mass transportation are local problems and local responsibilities. Half the people on relief in almost every city and half the ward patients in the city hospitals came there from somewhere else; half the children in the city schools came from somewhere else and will grow up to work somewhere else.

The director of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations stated it: "Because welfare and educational programs have lost their essentially local character and have acquired critical importance for the well-being of state and nation, they should no longer be left to the vicissitudes of local boundaries, the geographic distribution of taxable properties, the policy leanings of tax assessors, or even the political courage of local governing boards."

Poverty and education now account for more than 60 percent of all local government spending. They cost local government more than all the revenue now provided by the only revenue source reserved for local government—the property tax.

If these not-primarily-local poverty and education costs were all paid by the state and federal governments that call the tune for them, our local governments would have plenty of money of their own to cover all their own, strictly local costs and make all their own local services good without sending their mayors to the state capital or to Washington, hat in hand, to beg for subsidies.

The first rule of good management is to fix responsibility (including financial responsibility) where it belongs. Instead of asking the state and federal governments to subsidize strictly local costs like parks and sewage disposal, it might be much wiser to ask the state and federal governments to face up to their own primary responsibilities—the states on education, the national government for poverty. With some 60 percent of the property tax load thus removed, cities and counties could pick up the difference and meet their own clearly local responsibilities.

Shifting the basic cost of education to the states would not necessarily require giving the states any more control over local schools than they now exercise, and communities that want better schools than the statewide standard could still afford to supplement what the state was willing to spend.

## Attitudes must be broader

Living close requires more, rather than less, willingness to cooperate, to share the cost instead of trying to get away with something for nothing at somebody else's expense (usually the taxpayer's). The implications are enormous. For instance:

Industries, utilities and apartments should not expect to hold down their own costs by pouring tons of soot and garbage ash into the air to fall on somebody else's property, for someone else to pay for cleaning up. (In New York, this cleaning bill is officially estimated at \$500 million a year; almost as much each year as it would cost to put smoke control devices on all the city's garbage incinerators and factory and utility chimneys.)

Towns and factories should not expect to save money by pouring untreated sewage and waste into our streams for someone else to purify for

eventual reuse elsewhere downstream.

Drivers should not expect to foul up traffic by parking free or cheaply at other taxpayers' expense, on land priced up to \$100 a square foot. As long as motorists can park free, or almost free, on busy streets, how can we expect them to pay by the hour for off-street parking?

If the primary reason for cities is to minimize the handicaps of distance and maximize the advantages of easy access, it is almost unbelievably foolish to subsidize traffic congestion by letting parked cars cut four-lane roadways down to two.

Transit riders should not expect to ride long distances for a fraction of the cost, by getting the city to subsidize most of the fare.\* (But all of us recognize that as long as commuting to the cities by expressway gets a subsidy running as high as 10 cents a car-mile, mass transportation will also have to be subsidized. It is much cheaper to subsidize mass transportation than to subsidize driving to work at the present scale.)

Most notoriously, upper-income commuters should not expect the state or federal government to subsidize their flight to the suburbs by paying half the cost of their commutation.

Urban landowners should not be allowed to get rich by getting other taxpayers to pay the cost of all the public facilities without which their land would be good only for market gardening, and not much good at that.

We all sympathize with the cities' money problems; we all agree that the cities need money relief from state and federal governments.

But too many of our cities' money problems are of their own making. Cities would need less money help from above if they could screw up their courage to stop subsidizing obsolescence, blight and sprawl by undertaxing valuable under-used land, and subsidizing water waste, traffic jams, air pollution and water pollution by far-below-cost user charges. We could get much better cities much sooner if our cities would just stop subsidizing their worst faults.

The purpose of cities is to maximize the citi-

\*Panelist Gruen dissents. Says he: "Mass transit is such an essential city service that it should not just be cheap; it should be free, like the sewers. And this would save all the money now wasted collecting fares, which can run more than a quarter of the total cost of the transit system."



zens' freedom of choice, but that does not mean citizens should be free to do as they choose at somebody else's expense (specifically, that of other taxpayers). Most of us think the best way to let people decide for themselves what they want and what they don't want is to let the market govern their choice, by letting them pay for it.

People who choose to drive to work should be willing to pay what it costs to park their cars. People who choose to burn their garbage should be willing to pay for adequate smoke-control devices; industries which choose to dump industrial waste into our streams should be willing to pay the cost of first purifying their own waste; land-owners who want a neighborhood park which would increase the value of their property should be willing to pay an annual assessment to buy the land. (This neighborhood assessment policy is one big reason why Minneapolis citizens enjoy the best neighborhood park system in America.)

## Advice for satellite towns

Metropolitan New York will have more than 30 million population within a generation; metropolitan Los Angeles will reach 15 to 20 million.

Small cities can and should be centered around a single high-density hub, but big cities must inevitably be structured or restructured as close-in clusters of high density, radiating from a still-higher-density hub, for obvious and complementary reasons.

There is no reason why low-density land users such as one-floor factories or suburban shopping centers should pay for central-city space. These land users benefit by being near the urban center but need not be right in it, for they are largely self-contained, i.e., they do not need maximum access to supporting services, markets, diversified labor, etc. (Central-city colleges should adapt themselves to central-city land use in compact buildings like those around them.)

There is no reason why assembly-line workers, shopping center customers, etc., should travel all the way downtown 200 times a year. For them it is much more efficient and economical to relocate their destination closer to where they live.

Low-density land use in a maximum-density

center defeats the whole purpose of the center. There is no reason why lawyers or admen, for example, should have to waste time crossing a ruralistic college campus to reach a client's office.

Each of tomorrow's clustered satellites should combine good high-density living at the center with good low-density living between satellites. Each should make multilevel, multipurpose use of its most central land. Each should have a quick and economical connection to downtown by highway and/or mass transit. Each should include as great a variety of shopping, services and amenities as its area can support (but obviously this local variety will seldom be anywhere near as great as the variety made possible in downtown, which has the whole metropolitan area to draw on and serve).

Recognizing the need of high-density cluster development close in, Paris is planning six new suburban centers, each with 250,000 to 400,000 population, with a strong regional government overall. This French scheme of high-density subcenters close in is almost the direct antithesis of the not-too-successful British attempt to grow low-density, garden city "new towns" far out beyond the green belt. It follows quite closely the precedent set in Sweden, where Stockholm has already built two close-in model satellites, Vallingsby and Farsta, both within nine miles of the center. Now New York's Regional Plan proposes rationalizing the metropolitan sprawl around 12 suburban subcenters, each of which will soon have a million people living within a 10 mile radius.

Sometimes whole new towns like Baltimore's Columbia and Washington's Reston will be needed. More often, existing centers (like Newark, New Brunswick, New Rochelle, Yonkers, Jamaica and White Plains around New York) will have to provide the nucleus for tomorrow's clustering satellites, for the costs of starting a brand new town are staggering. People hesitate to move there until jobs and shops are ready; shops and jobs try to wait for people; and the developer of a medium-size town may well have to sink \$60 million before he turns his first profit.

Brand new towns can profit by one great advantage: They can be coherently planned to offer

better living in tomorrow's world than older communities handicapped by having "just growed" to meet yesterday's needs.

But—to those who would sponsor new towns or new suburban centers, we offer these three bits of caution and criticism:

- Too many of today's new towns are too far out to give people easy access to the variety only the central city can provide. And each passing year makes it harder and costlier to assemble a big enough acreage close enough in.
- Too many (if not all) of today's new towns are planned just to siphon off what is best in the central city, leaving behind all the problems like poverty and segregation. The greater the success achieved in this escapist maneuver, the greater the danger that the new towns will destroy themselves, by destroying the central city on which they must all depend for many essential services and attractions.
- Too many of today's new centers are planned too small, and will soon be a mess. For example, the Northland Shopping Center on Detroit's city line was such an outstanding success that what was planned for a million square feet of stores is now 1.4 million, and around it has grown a whole new urban complex of high-density apartments, hotels, laboratories, restaurants and even Detroit's only legitimate summer theater—all requiring parking and sitting in a lake of parking five times as big as the building it surrounds. People living in the high-rise apartments can see the shopping center nearby, but they cannot get there on foot because they find it unbearable to walk through these vast parking areas and cross the multiline highways constructed to make the center accessible.

This development now sprawls over 450 acres. It could have been achieved with much greater convenience and economy on a hundred acres, if only the planners of Northland could have foreseen what a magnet their model shopping center would be and had had the means to implement that foresight.

As for new cities (as distinct from new towns), all of us think they are a fine idea, for there is a limit to how much population today's metropolitan areas can accommodate pleasantly, and how

much industry they can accommodate efficiently. When, as and if a new city is built, we hope it will escape all the mistakes our older cities have made. But the hard fact is that no new community big enough to be called a city is being built and only one is being planned; and Bill Levitt, who ought to know, says it will require at least a billion dollars to finance the development of a new city of 100,000 population.

## No quick cures for congestion

Big old cities like New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago, tightly structured by railroads and mass transit, find it hard and perhaps impossible to adjust to the street parking needs of the automobile. Whether New York elects to spend another \$21,000 per car for new approaches to bring more cars into lower Manhattan, there is no room on the streets for more cars, and no parking space off the streets for them, and the more people who come in by car, the more people who decide just to stay out to avoid the congestion.

Conversely, new cities, loosely structured by the automobile, will find it hard and perhaps impossible to adjust to reliance on mass transit, which is efficient only if many thousands of people want to get to a reasonably small number of destinations from a reasonably small number of points of origin. Los Angeles shelved its mass-transit plans when a traffic survey showed 230 points of destination, some of them spread over a three-mile diameter and few of them important enough to justify track-bound transportation to reach them.

In Washington, Gruen's transit survey for the National Capital Planning Commission projected a need of first restructuring the District around a dozen new urban subcenters at the major stations of the proposed transit system, each incorporating a bus terminal and a big parking garage to make the station an easy point of interchange from other means of transportation, and each providing the incentive for a 150-acre high-density development incorporating housing, retailing, cultural entertainment and employment facilities.

Meanwhile, the Bay area around San Francisco is going ahead regardless, with an \$800 million,



75-mile mass transit project that could have some startling results. For one thing, it will give landowners around the 30 stations a windfall profit of more than \$800 million, i.e., an unearned increment that could (but won't) be recaptured to pay off the entire cost of the system. (Most of the cost of the Erie Canal 140 years ago was paid off by a special tax on the lands whose value it multiplied.)

BART will also start a building boom around each station that could, for example, rebuild San Francisco's Market Street 30 stories high, with something like an eight-square-block platform providing direct access to 2 million square feet of office space and shopping. (Nothing so coherent will happen, because no one is planning for it.)

Some kind of subcentered restructuring will probably be necessary anyhow to make big cities livable as they redouble their population, but it is foolish to think mass transit can replace the private car (especially on the periphery), or that any single means of transportation can meet all the needs of tomorrow's big cities. The Bay area transit system is not expected to absorb more than 10 percent of the trips now taken by auto. Says economist Wheaton: "People accustomed to the convenience of driving direct to their destination will take a lot of persuading before they will walk to a bus, bus to rail transit, ride to their station, and then bus and finally walk again to where they want to get." But others cite examples in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia where better mass transportation has brought thousands of commuters back to the rails.

Moving jobs to the outskirts is no cure-all for highway congestion in commuter hours, for there is no use expecting people to make nearness to their jobs the No. 1 consideration in choosing where to live. In New York thousands of commuters from Westchester ride the subway from Grand Central to Wall Street, passing on their way thousands of commuters from Staten Island and Brooklyn who work near Grand Central. In Los Angeles, thousands from the valley jam the freeways on their way to work in Orange County and vice versa. Almost everywhere, morning and evening rush hours find some freeways traffic-jammed in both directions.

The bigger the city, the bigger the cost of put-



1.



2.



3.

**1. HOLMES:** Suburbanites don't want the same things as city dwellers.

**2. URBAHN:** Central city parking lots should be underground.

**3. SNIBBE:** FHA incentives made it possible to destroy Long Island.

ting primary reliance on automobiles to handle the commuter rush. A three-lane expressway, costing up to \$95 million a mile, can carry no more workers to their jobs in an hour than a single seven-car train, and New York's estimate of \$21,000 for the capital cost for bringing in one more commuter car is exceeded by Washington's \$23,000. Neither figure includes any money for adding more parking facilities, though each added mile of expressways requires seven times as much space to park the cars it brings in. Already parking lots and local streets give over to the automobile 54 percent of the downtown area in Atlanta, 50 percent in Los Angeles, 40 percent in Boston, 44 percent in Denver.

Sooner or later—and we hope sooner—most big cities will have to work out their own new balanced solution to their traffic and transportation problems. This solution will almost certainly involve some return to much more use of man's original means of locomotion: walking. It will also involve much more reliance on high-speed vertical transportation, and wide acceptance of moving sidewalks and the revolutionary new low-cost systems for automated mass transit that are already well past the design stage. It will also reflect some equally revolutionary but still visionary changes in cars and trucks.

In many cities, traffic and transportation will probably entail keeping cars off some of the busiest streets and reserving them for pedestrians, as in Gruen's very successful reshaping of downtown Fresno, California.

One part of the realty tax is the tax on improvements. The other is the tax on the unimproved value of the land on which the improvement stands. It would be hard to imagine two taxes whose impacts on urban development are more different.

## Tax policy cries for revision

Heavy taxes on improvements are bound to discourage, delay or even deter owners from making improvements; the bigger the improvement tax, the smaller the owner's incentive to spend good money to improve his property, instead of investing the money somewhere else or putting

it to some other use.

Contrariwise, heavy taxes on unimproved land values (more correctly, site values, or perhaps still more correctly, location values) tend to encourage, speed or sometimes even compel improvements. ~~The bigger the land tax, the bigger the leverage on owners of underused property to do something to increase its earning power—or sell it to someone who will.~~

Heavy taxes on improvements are bound to lower the supply and raise the cost and rent for improvements, but land taxes heavy enough to bring more land on the market are bound to lower the price of land.

The dualism of property was recognized by the classical economists, and few students now question the conclusion reached long ago by Turgot and Adam Smith that taxes on unimproved land values cannot be passed on (except under rent control, which survives only in New York State), so it is nonsense to suggest that heavier taxes on the land under slum properties would make the poor people who live in slum buildings pay more rent.

Almost all of us agree with the conclusion reached by Dr. Netzer's research for the Brookings Institution that "the present property tax tends to discourage investment in new construction and rehabilitation. A change to the site-value tax will encourage building and rehabilitation.... Heavy taxation of land values would increase substantially the holding costs of land, and thus encourage more intensive utilization." ~~More than two-thirds of today's property tax now falls on the improvement, less than one-third on the land. So shifting the whole weight of a 3 percent-of-true-value property level to the site would require a 10 percent rate on the land to produce the same revenue.~~

Nothing less than a 10 percent rate would be adequate to make the owners of underused land release it when it is needed for more intensive use, instead of holding it off the market waiting for higher and higher prices. And with the federal government absorbing more than half the local levy as a tax deduction, and the present euphoric expectation that land prices will continue to soar 15 percent a year compounded, many believe that



the land-tax rate would have to be even higher than 10 percent to be effective.

If we want private enterprise to make its maximum contribution to rebuilding our cities bigger and better, it is foolish to penalize and discourage that contribution by overtaxing improvements. As all bankers can figure, but too few tax men seem to realize, a 3 percent-of-true-value tax on improvements actually costs improvers almost as much as a 50 percent sales tax paid off on the installment plan over 60 years at 5 percent interest. And it should be obvious to everybody that, in an economy where every business decision must first be checked against its tax consequences, the equivalent of a 50 percent sales tax can be a mighty powerful and effective deterrent.

An improvement tax like Boston's 6.1 percent-of-true-value is the installment plan equivalent of a 10 percent sales tax, and such a levy can make improvements so unprofitable that even prime building sites will have a negative value (i.e., be worth less than nothing). So the only way Boston could induce Prudential Insurance to pay \$3.7 million for 28 prime Back Bay acres for Prudential Center was to cut the maximum tax on new buildings to about half the tax on existing structures—a concession worth much more than \$3.7 million to Prudential. No other industry's products—except liquor and tobacco—are taxed as heavily as the building industry's product.

If we want to get rid of slums, it is foolish to subsidize them by assessing and taxing slum properties only half or a third as heavily as good housing with the same market value (i.e., by tying the land assessment to the building assessment and assessing the land as almost worthless because the building on it is almost worthless, instead of assessing the land high because the location could be valuable if put to a better use). In the words of New York City's 1961 adviser on housing and urban renewal: "No amount of code enforcement or tenement rehabilitation can keep pace with slum formation unless and until the profit is taken out of slums by taxation." Almost all of us agree with the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, which found that "state and local governments have failed to make maximum use of the enormous potential inherent in the prop-

erty tax for either the prevention or the cure of poor housing and other blight conditions. In fact, since today's property tax is based mostly on the value of the improvements, those who permit their property to deteriorate, reducing area property values, are rewarded with lower property taxes. Landlords who enhance the value of their property have their assessments raised."

If we want to speed up the replacement of obsolete buildings such as now pre-empt most of the land in and around most central business districts, it is foolish to keep them standing and profitable by taxing not only the aging buildings but also the land under them, less and less as the buildings get older and more and more rundown. Tract-by-tract research conducted by the Urban Land Institute, with the cooperation of the Milwaukee tax commissioner, showed that it would be profitable for private enterprise, without any subsidy, to tear down and replace practically all the obsolete buildings downtown if the property tax were all on the valuable land they cover, so the tax burden on the replacement would not be many times heavier than the tax burden on the relic. Says Professor Gaffney, who conducted the research: "Today's property-tax practice is slowing down the replacement of obsolete structures by 20 to 30 years."

One very big reason so many cities are in trouble downtown is that they "grewed" like Topsy without, at the same time, cleaning out the decay of age at the center.

The horses and carriages of our grandfather's day are gone with the wind, along with the cobblestone streets, trolley cars, steam trains and coal stoves, but most of the buildings our grandfathers knew are still standing today. Nearly a third of all the people of Manhattan still live in railroad flats that were banned before 1900, and these slums are so underassessed and undertaxed that it has cost an average of \$486,000 an acre to buy them up for demolition!

Too often, renewal has come too late. Too many cities have let old buildings stand so long that their neighborhood has died around them. St. Louis is not the only city whose core is ringed with rubble because it waited too long for the bulldozer to force a renewal that should have

gone on year by year and piece by piece while the area was still alive.

If we want to minimize suburban sprawl and stop blighting the countryside with premature subdivision, it is foolish to assess and tax pressure to release their land at a reasonable price when it is needed for orderly urban growth. Too many assessors seem to confuse the property tax with the income tax; they assess valuable land far below its asking price as long as it is producing no income. On Long Island, idle land priced at \$20,000 an acre is commonly assessed as low as \$500 an acre.

If we want to lessen the cost of slum clearance, it is almost unbelievably foolish to inflate the price of land needed for urban renewal by under-taxation. Once again, consider how New York has had to pay an average of \$486,000 an acre for the slum properties condemned and demolished for public housing. One reason for these high prices is the low tax these properties had been paying. At land costs like that, how can anyone expect private enterprise to provide good housing for low- or even middle-class families without enormous subsidies?

If we want to check the land-price inflation that threatens to price good new homes out of the market, it is foolish to subsidize that inflation by assessing and taxing land lightly, and then penalize the homebuyer who has just paid too much for his land, by taxing him too much on his house. Since 1954, while all other homebuilding costs have been held steady or actually lowered, land costs have been soaring 15 percent a year compounded, and before the 1966 tight-money crisis, a three-to-one majority of homebuilders voted this their most urgent problem.

Likewise, if we want to make low-density living possible closer to downtown, it is foolish to subsidize the waste of central-city land by under-taxation. The Urban Land Institute research referred to before showed that full utilization of the land within three or four miles of the center of Milwaukee would satisfy most of the demand that is now proliferating sprawl, thereby making land available for low density less than half as far out as now.

If we want to hold down the cost of municipal

services, it is foolish to undertax underused urban land and so encourage sprawl right inside the city limits, for almost all these costs—water supply, sewage disposal, garbage collection, streets, fire protection, police protection, as well as gas, electricity, telephone connections and other utilities—are multiplied by distance.

In brief, there is hardly an urban problem today that is not aggravated by today's practice of undertaxing land and overtaxing improvements.

State governments must take much of the blame for the undertaxation of land and the over-taxation of improvements, for most states presently compel cities to apply the same tax rate to land as to improvements, and most states condone the practice of assessing land half as heavily as improvements.

## States deserve much of blame

The states must take full responsibility for the shocking proliferation of suburban tax shelters, where the tax rate is sometimes only one-tenth as high as the city rate because the suburbs can get away with bringing in industry while keeping out industrial workers with children to educate.

Local assessment inequalities are made worse by state-sponsored exemptions. These include the limit of a few hundred dollars which some states impose on the assessment of any land that is farmed (even when it may be held for development at many thousands of dollars per acre), and the homestead, veterans' and senior citizens' exemptions, by which some state governments have sought to subsidize favored voters at the expense of local tax revenues. The limit on homestead exemptions is usually set at or below \$5,000 of assessed value, but where assessments run to only 25 percent of market value, this means that a home worth \$20,000 may be completely tax-exempt.

Federal tax policies (or practices) likewise make urban problems worse:

- Speculative land profits are taxed not more than half as heavily as ordinary income, provided the landowner does nothing to improve his property for sale (i.e., provided he does nothing to earn his profit).



- The 25 percent capital-gains tax makes land assembly for large-scale development difficult, for a locked-in owner can often mortgage his property for almost as much as he could realize on a sale after deducting the gains tax.
- Letting each new owner depreciate the same building all over again is one more serious deterrent to replacement. The older and more decrepit the building, the shorter its life expectancy for tax purposes, and the bigger the depreciation the new owner can take.
- Shoddy construction is encouraged by the accelerated depreciation-allowance which makes it advantageous for the builder to sell out within seven years.
- Neighborhood assessments are denied the income tax deductibility enjoyed by local taxes. This is just about the most serious deterrent to neighborhood financing of neighborhood improvements.
- Federal corporation and income taxes dilute the impact of the property tax by letting corporations deduct 52 percent of the local levy from their federal tax bill, and letting individuals deduct up to 80 percent. (On the good side, it should be recorded that this helps make the tax on improvements tolerable by cutting its impact in half.)

But on the bad side, it should also be recorded that it helps inflate the price of land, by absorbing more than half the tax cost of holding idle land off the market.

With the federal government absorbing 50 percent of the local land tax, and assessors assessing idle land at not more than 20 percent instead of the theoretical 100 percent, the effective yearly tax cost of holding a \$100,000 tract off the market is not the \$3,000 it is supposed to be but a quite negligible \$300.

Good living in the city should be inexpensive, because there are so many people to share the cost of the multiplicity of community services, amenities and attractions that the city offers.

Actually city living is more expensive than country living, and one big reason is that we let landowners capitalize all the economics of urban cost-sharing for their private profit. The greater the saving achieved, the more the landowner can

add to his ground rent. Of this, the simplest example is cited by Winston Churchill: When London abolished the penny toll which workers had to pay for crossing the Thames to reach their jobs, rents on the workers' tenements were promptly raised a shilling (12 pence) a week.

By definition, the unimproved value of urban and suburban land derives, not from anything any past or present owner has done to improve it but from an enormous investment of other people's money to create the community around or near it. Some of this investment is made by private enterprise; some is made by those who support hospitals, museums, colleges, etc.; much of it is made by government.

No matter who makes the investment, the land-owner cashes in on it. When New York extended the subway beyond Spuyten Duyvil, land prices in Riverdale zoomed upward. When taxpayers spent \$350 million to bridge the Narrows to Staten Island, landowners there got a much-bigger-than-\$350-million windfall. Spending \$800 million taxpayer dollars for Bay area rapid transit will almost certainly enrich landowners around its stations by at least an equal amount.

For a smaller-scale example, consider the prediction by the New York Regional Planning Association that taxpayers will have to invest \$16,850 in highways, schools, water, sewers, etc. for each family added to the metropolitan population. Change that "per family" to read "per lot" and it becomes clear that other taxpayers will have to invest \$16,850 in community facilities to enable a landowner to sell his suburban lot for \$8,000.

What all this adds up to is that citizens and suburbanites must pay twice over for all their community facilities. First they pay for them on their tax bills, their charitable donations or their business investments. Then they pay for them all over again, in higher ground rents to landowners who have been allowed to capitalize all this investment of other people's money into the price of their land.

Under today's tax and assessment policies, the owners of idle and underused urban and suburban land make only a minimum contribution to the huge community investment needed to make their land reachable, livable and richly salable.

The less they do to improve their property and the longer they keep it idle or underused, the less they are taxed to help pay for the community facilities needed to multiply its value. Said Winston Churchill: "The landowner's profit is often in direct proportion to the disservice he does the community by holding his land off the market until other people's investment has multiplied its price."

Many municipal costs are multiplied by distance, and correspondingly reduced by reducing distance. Consider, for example, water distribution. If demand for water doubles in a fixed area, all we need is to expand pipe diameters. But if demand doubles by doubling the service area, we must double our pipe mileage; increase the cross-section of our old system at its base to transmit the extra load to the new extension; increase pressure at the load center to maintain pressure at the fringes; and increase the allowance for peaking.

Or consider the far more urgent problem of streets and highways, which now cost local taxpayers more than any other item except schools. The greater the sprawl, the more miles of streets needed to get from A to B, and the more cars that will have to travel more miles along those streets. Fewer people can get where they want to go on foot, and fewer can get to and from where they want to be by mass transit. Residential sprawl does not take cars out of the traffic centers; on the contrary, it brings in more. Sprawl is not a flight from traffic congestion but its principal cause.

Multipurpose high density can even out the peaks and valleys of demand and utilize municipal services seven days a week around the clock; conversely, specialized areas waste these costly services most of the time. For example, New York's Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts comes to life only from 8 p.m. to midnight and during matinees; New York's Wall Street area is alive only from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. five days a week. The rest of the time it is so dead that the girl arrested for posing nude on the Sabbath on the steps of J. P. Morgan was acquitted because there was no one within blocks whose morals could be corrupted!

With high-density stratification, private enter-

prise seeking tenants and customers can be expected to absorb many costs that are otherwise borne by the taxpayers. For example, private enterprise pays *all* the costs of transportation and utility services above the street level (a cost that runs close to a third of the first cost of high-rise construction); and private enterprise is beginning to find it profitable to offer built-in amenities and recreation (swimming pools, etc.) that might otherwise have to be provided by additional facilities in public parks.

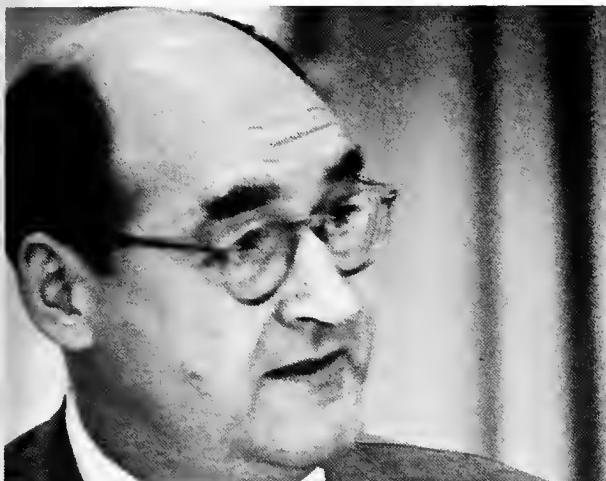
High-density stratification often permits major savings through round-the-clock use of facilities. For example, Chicago's Marina City owes much of its \$200,000-a-year garage revenue to triple use of part of its parking space for apartment tenants by night, for business tenants by day, for bowling alley and theater patrons in the evening.

The renaissance that saved Pittsburgh started when its business and political leaders decided their city was worth saving and took on the job of saving it. The first thing they did was tackle a local problem no one else could correct for them—the air pollution that had made Pittsburgh almost synonymous with smoke.

The same kind of civic leadership made Fresno the model of what small cities can do to revitalize their downtown—a model which is bringing visitors from all over the world to study, praise and imitate. The same kind of civic leadership inspired (but alas could not execute) the plan for saving downtown Fort Worth, and the same kind of civic leadership explains the award-winning project for clearing the oil derricks out of downtown Oklahoma City to create the most beautiful, the most practical and the most fun downtown in mid-America.

Some of our cities' problems may be too big for the cities to meet without outside help (most specifically, the problem of poverty, which is a national rather than a city problem); but most of our cities' problems are too small and too local for any outsider to take on. Consider, for example, the first six things the slum dwellers in Pittsburgh's notorious Hill District asked the Redevelopment Agency to get done for them. They requested that the city:

- collect our garbage



**MADDEN:** Some manufacturing can move to the suburbs; some kinds can't.



**CONKLIN:** We need a performance specification for the urban environment.

- repair our streets
- put in more street lights
- tear down 357 vacant and boarded-up buildings as a neighborhood nuisance
- provide safe playgrounds for our children (perhaps on the boarded-up building sites)
- give us a voice in determining what is to be done with our own neighborhood instead of having all the decisions made for us by somebody else—perhaps somebody in Washington.

Only the city itself can clean the streets. Only the city can stop the multimillion-dollar waste of free-for-all air pollution (much of it from the city's own chimneys). Only the city can stop the multimillion-dollar waste of make-work and conflicting building codes—a waste that adds at least 10 percent to the cost of building and rebuilding. Only the city can ease downtown street congestion by coordinating traffic lights, designating one-way streets, requiring all street and understreet repairs to be done at night, banning on-street parking and otherwise discouraging the downtown use of private cars. Only the city can lower the foolish minimum ceiling height for parking garages to cut their cost and maximize their car capacity per cubic foot. Only the city can

make streets and parks safe at night. Only the city can end the scandalous and underassessment and undertaxation of slums and other ill-used and underused land.

There are hundreds of other small things our cities could and should be doing to help themselves without waiting for outside help—small things whose cost could be proportionately small, but whose cumulative value could be very big indeed.

## Better recreation in the city

Everybody talks about the need for open space, but most of the talk is about special tax concessions to help farmers keep on farming on close-in land that has become too expensive for farming, or to help golfers keep on golfing on close-in land that has become too expensive for private links.

Some of us think farms and private golf links belong a few miles farther out, where thousands of people won't have to drive added miles past their "no trespassing" signs on their way to work.

All of us support the movement for wildlife preserves, state parks, national seashores, etc., but all of us wish there could be more talk, more

action, and more private and public spending for the kind of close-in urban open space without which only the rich can enjoy the good life in our cities.

The open space our cities need most of not just something green and shady to look at. The open space our cities need most is open space people can use and have fun in, and its use-value will depend on how many people can use it how much, how often, how safely and how near home.

Every neighborhood needs its own neighborhood park and playgrounds. The denser the neighborhood's population, the greater its need for nearby outdoor recreation; and the poorer the neighborhood, the more urgent this need is apt to grow. A dozen small parks close to home can often be more important than one big park too far away.

Neighborhood parks must always be tailored to neighborhood needs. One that would be fine in a high-class residential area might be no good at all in the slum. Good neighborhood parks need not be expensive to equip or maintain; imagination and clear thinking about what kind of park facilities the neighborhood needs can sometimes make a small budget go a long way toward both first cost and maintenance cost. New York is budgeting only \$37,500 apiece for 200 small new parks in crowded areas, most of them on tax-defaulted lots the city already owns.

Neighborhood parks are beneficial in other ways than merely providing recreational space close at hand. They are also good indeed for neighborhood property values, so property owners petitioned for one and volunteered to finance its first cost by a special neighborhood assessment at so much per front-foot. (This plan may need some subsidy in the poorest sections.)

But neighborhood parks and playgrounds can meet only part of the urban need for outdoor recreation. There are many activities and enjoyments for which only the bigger central parks can provide the needed space and draw the crowds needed to support them. For example, only a big central park can support frequent outdoor concerts or a zoo or a large skating rink or space enough for riding and hiking, etc.

For city children, safe outdoor space to play in

is almost as important as good schools to learn in, but most cities spend 50 times as much for schools as for parks and playgrounds. New York, for example, allocates only seven-tenths of 1 percent of its budget to parks and recreation.

As for city adults, those who can afford it show how much they want open space and open space recreation by moving to the suburbs or by jamming the expressways for their weekend exodus; either way, they spend far more money to get to open space and open space recreation than it would cost to provide good open space and open space recreation close at hand right inside the city—private open space for those who can afford to be exclusive, public open space and recreation for everybody. In a recent survey in Milwaukee, most people put better recreation facilities in that city's fine park system first on their list of desired civic improvements.

We all agree with the director of the Institute of Public Administration that "Instead of spending millions of tax dollars for highways to help people escape from the city to find outdoor recreation, we should pay more attention to providing recreational facilities inside the city." In San Francisco, enormous numbers of suburbanites drive into the city to enjoy the city's parks and beaches; some say that as many suburbanites drive in as citizens drive out for recreation. More cities should study and follow San Francisco's lead.

New York could serve as a good example of what needs to be done (and has recently begun doing something about it). New York has more waterfront than any other city in the world—540 miles, much of it city-owned, with 35 miles of beaches—but the city pours in nearly half the untreated sewage that makes almost all its waters unsafe for swimming and even kills off most of the fish. New York has 37,750 acres of park land, most of it underdeveloped and way out where few people can enjoy it. Says the former park commissioner: "Most of the people of New York have to get their recreation on vacant lots that are stinking with garbage and littered with old cars and mattresses. The ball fields our kids have to play in are ridiculous and disgraceful."

Until last year, New York has wasted most of



its billion-dollar-plus investment in Central Park; says the former president of the AIA: "Central Park has been a big wasteful space that people couldn't use, a beautiful dead spot in the daytime and a dangerous place at night." New Yorkers still get less use and fun out of Central Park's 846 acres than the Danes get out of 22 acres in Copenhagen's Tivoli Gardens, among whose trees and flowers are six big restaurants, an open-air theater, a dance hall, two bandstands providing almost continuous afternoon and evening music, a lake and an amusement park complete with miniature railroad, etc.

In Russia the government builds all the new apartments around big hollow courts that provide safe play space for the tenant's children (as well as nursery schools and shared baby-sitting and day-care facilities). In America it is hard to find examples where the open space around new high-rise apartments is widely used.

Sooner or later, as urban population swells, the logistics of moving millions of people out of the city for weekend outdoor enjoyment will become intolerably costly. It is high time to start giving much more thought and spending much more money to make our cities good places for outdoor as well as indoor living, instead of devoting so much thought and money to getting out of them.

We need to develop a whole new urban package that will give people with children what they need inside the city, instead of making parents who can afford to go move out. And we need to give much more thought to making city life pleasant and rewarding for the poor, who are now pouring into our cities, not so much because they want to but because they have no other place to go for jobs.

## The ghetto: a national problem

Racial segregation is not a local problem; it is a national problem. In origin it is not an urban problem, but it has been dumped on our cities to solve, with nearly 95 percent of all Negroes outside the South urbanized. It is now many cities' No. 1 problem, and one city governments cannot cure without many kinds of help, including all-out cooperation from state and national governments.

It is a problem nobody can solve until millions of people, both white and nonwhite, understand it better and pitch in to play their own large or small part in the solution.

And unless somebody solves it, many great cities like Washington, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore and Chicago may find themselves deserted by the white middle-class and abandoned (except for small enclaves of luxury housing for the rich) to the nonwhite poor, trapped in the slums by their poverty, and the nonwhite middle-class, trapped on the border of the slums by segregation and the lily-white suburbs' refusal to let them in. Already Washington has become 63 percent nonwhite, Detroit 39 percent, St. Louis 37 percent, Philadelphia 30 percent, Chicago 30 percent. Between 1950 and 1960, as everyone knows, Washington offset a growth of 181,000 Negroes with a loss of 226,000 whites; Chicago, a growth of 321,000 Negroes with a loss of 399,000 whites; New York, a growth of some 700,000 Negroes and Puerto Ricans with a loss of some 800,000 other whites.

Racial segregation is not a single problem but the sum of many different ones—a different community problem for almost every city and neighborhood, a different personal problem for every segregated nonwhite. Different as all these are, they are all parts of two basic problems—one almost new and seething with new bitterness, the other old and deep rooted in old prejudices.

One problem is the plight of the 5 million-odd urban nonwhites who are almost desperately poor—the plight of the 45 percent of all Negroes the 1960 census found living in "deteriorating" or "delapidated" housing.

The other problem is the frustration of the other 5 million-odd nonwhites who are no longer poor—5 million-odd urban nonwhites who, against great handicaps, have earned their way up to family incomes over \$6,000 (up from 4.74 million indicated by census in 1963). These million nonwhites have adjusted their lives to middle-class aspirations but still find themselves denied middle-class acceptance and status.

These two very different problems call for equally different housing solutions, money solutions, opportunity solutions, timing solutions—

and nothing but more confusion can result from confusing the two.

It is just plain nonsense to think all nonwhites are alike and to act as though their problems could be solved in the same way. The fact is that there are more differences among nonwhites than among whites because on top of all their other differences is superimposed a wide range of difference in how many white ancestors they have and what social, educational and financial advantages this white blood may have given their grandfathers. Caste lines among nonwhites are at least as strong as among whites, not just in lands like Haiti and Jamaica whose population is nearly 100 percent nonwhite but in this country too.

College-educated nonwhites (and there are more Negroes in US colleges today than white men in English universities) have the same aspirations as college-educated whites, and have good reasons for feeling they should be accepted for what they are, instead of being rejected for what their great-grandfathers were. Middle-class nonwhites (and nonwhites have to work a lot harder to achieve middle-class incomes and values) have the same aspirations as middle-class whites, only more so. After long years of frustration they are more eager for status; market surveys show that they spend more of their incomes to be nicely dressed, spend more for "personal care," buy more expensive shoes, spend more for their home entertainment equipment. They limit their families to fewer children, work harder on their lawns and planting, and seem to have made good neighbors in every tract where they are accepted, from Levittown on the East Coast to Eichler on the West.

These people do not need special relief or special subsidies. They do not need special schools for their children, for their children have little trouble keeping up with white classmates. What they need now is recognition of their past achievements, freer access to better-paying jobs (Negro incomes still average 47 percent lower than white), a wider door to escape their present segregation on the edges of the nonwhite slums, and a better chance for further progress toward assimilation into the rest of our social and economic life.



These nonwhites moving up have little in common with the poor nonwhites sunk in the slums except their color and their common resentment of segregation. They have so little in common that when New York tried to speed desegregation by moving poor Negroes out of Harlem's slums into new public housing in middle-class areas, the middle-class Negro owners of nearby homes protested as angrily as their white neighbors.

Most of the Negroes now crowded into urban slums are newly arrived fugitives from the farm mechanization that wiped out a million field hands' jobs in the South, and sent them fleeing to the cities to seek jobs for which they had neither skills nor training. On top of this came a mass migration of 700,000 penniless Puerto Ricans, mostly to New York, and a mass migration of Mexican peons that made Los Angeles the world's sixth largest Spanish-speaking city. For this huge and sudden influx, the cities—north, south, east and west—were completely unprepared, without jobs, housing or schools ready to receive them.

The newcomers were equally unprepared for urban living. Old established urban Negroes wel-



**DONS:** Cities, suburbs must provide  
opportunities for leisure.

**LY:** The city is still the generator  
of national wealth.

**TALIN:** Ease of communication is  
essential of urbanism.

comed the Negro newcomers with little enthusiasm, and the Spanish-speaking newcomers with even less. Poor whites greeted them with open bitterness and hostility, for they threatened their low-pay unskilled-labor employment just at a time when automation was eliminating millions of cheap-labor jobs.

Poor nonwhites need much better housing, but the sad fact is that as long as there are 6 million fewer decent homes in the urban housing inventory than there are urban families in need of homes, it is inevitable that 6 million urban families will have to live crowded into substandard units. Most of these 6 million victims of the urban housing shortage are bound to be the poor, and a disproportionate number of the very poor are nonwhite.

So we agree with HUD Secretary Weaver that the best answer to the nonwhite slum problem and the housing segregation problem is to build enough good housing so there will be a good home available for everyone. Some of this new housing will have to include building new low-rent units, but most of the low-rent need could be met better

by trickle-down work, just as the auto needs of low-income families are better met by second-hand cars than by cheap new models. With today's land costs, today's building-trades wages and today's code and labor restrictions, private enterprise cannot hope to build good enough new homes cheaply enough for poor people to buy or rent without big subsidies. Two of the wisest contributions government could make to better housing for the poor would be to help finance the purchase and resale of sound used dwellings, and to help finance low-cost modernization.

But more good enough housing is only a small part of the answer.

Poor nonwhites need freedom to move out of their racial ghettos and live closer to available jobs—but when all restrictions are ended, most nonwhites still will prefer living with their own people, just as almost every other ethnic group has tended to stick together for a generation or more; often for three generations.

Poor nonwhites need better schools and better education, but bussing white children to nonwhite-neighborhood schools cannot be a good enough answer, when it means holding white children back because poor nonwhite parents cannot give their children the advantages needed to start even and stay even. School buildings in nonwhite-neighborhoods are notoriously inferior, partly because they are old buildings in old neighborhoods; teaching in nonwhite-neighborhoods averages below the white-neighborhood level, mostly because the teacher's work is harder and the pay no more.

But in all fairness it should also be realized that New York, for example, spends as much per pupil (well over \$1,000) to educate nonwhite children in the public schools of Harlem as the tuition charged by the city's most exclusive private schools—quite a bit more money than most lily-white suburbs pay to educate their own. Furthermore, in Philadelphia and elsewhere the drive for school desegregation is tending to turn segregation upside down, with more and more white children taken out of public school, and more and more desegregated public schools getting to be almost 100 percent Negro. How will this affect the willingness of the white population, which car-

ries some 95 percent of the local tax load, to pay increased taxes for better schools that few of their own white children will be attending?

*Nonwhites need more human contact with the rest of the community.* The primary cause for the trouble in Watts was not that the housing in Watts is so bad (it isn't; not so long ago Watts was a fairly good middle-class white neighborhood). It was not because the area is overcrowded (it isn't; the density in Watts is not much more than 20 per acre). The primary cause of the trouble in Watts is the fact that it had been allowed to become an island apart. Not enough people outside had any contact with their fellow citizens walled off inside Watts. So it took a riot that cost \$40 million and 34 dead to make outsiders realize that Watts had no good hospital for 87,000 people, no modern schools for more than 30,000 children, no movie house, only one public swimming pool and almost no public transportation to let people get to the kind of jobs they could hold. No wonder 30 percent of all the job seekers in Watts are unemployed; no wonder its residents felt forgotten, bitter and almost hopeless.

But most of all, poor nonwhites desperately need more money, more jobs and more job opportunities, particularly more jobs for male heads of families and for young people, both boys and girls. Everybody knows that unemployment among nonwhites is more than twice as heavy as among whites, averaging out to 8.2 percent, but too few people seem to understand the peculiar pattern hidden behind the 8.2 percent average—a pattern which helps explain the bitterness of Negro youth, and also accentuates the matriarchal character of Negro home life which, in turn, accentuates the school problem of poor Negro children. An unemployment rate of 8.2 percent is bad enough, but what the "average" conceals is a jobless rate that often exceeds 30 percent among some of the nonwhites most in need of jobs.

Unemployment among college-educated Negroes is actually much less than among college-educated whites, because so many companies are making a special effort to find qualified nonwhites to hire. Unemployment among middle-class Negroes has to be small almost by definition (other-

wise they could not enjoy middle-class incomes); unemployment among adult Negroes with less than a grade school education is also low, probably because they seem willing to take menial jobs that nobody else wants. And one-third more Negro women than white have jobs outside the home—despite a 34 percent unemployment rate among teen-age Negro girls (three times the unemployment rate among teen-age white girls).

In other words: Negro unemployment is concentrated among Negro men who were high school dropouts, and is heaviest of all among young Negro men, who are most likely to have young children. In big city slums, their unemployment rate often runs higher than 30 percent.

A tragic consequence of this unemployment pattern is that the No. 1 breadwinner in too many slum-trapped nonwhite families is a working mother, and in some 40 percent of these poor families there is no man at all because the working is either deserted or unwed (in Harlem 43.4 per-



**PEASE:** We should pay more attention to what city people say they want.

**FITCH:** Market pricing principle should be applied to city services—including parking.

cent of the children are illegitimate). So there is no one at home all day to care for and bring up the children. Of all Negro children, 36 percent live in broken homes; in the slums this percentage is much higher.

What all this adds up to is that the hard-core problem of nonwhite segregation is very largely a poverty problem, and it cannot be solved until employers, labor unions and the government (mostly federal) work out a good way to let nonwhites escape from poverty and male unemployment. Says Philadelphia's Joseph V. Baker: "A Negro does not need a college degree to put gasoline in an empty tank, or to turn a wrench as far as the threads have been cut, or to collect tickets on trains."

Desegregation, in the sense of living next door to white neighbors, is mostly for upper- and middle-class nonwhites. For the great mass of poor nonwhites, desegregation means mostly a chance to escape from poverty, slum housing and male unemployment, plus a chance for better education to help their children work their way up.

## Things that only cities can do

No local government can solve all the problems of the nonwhite poor, but few of their problems are likely to be solved unless and until local governments take an active part in their solution. For example and specifically:

- Only local governments can deflate the bootstrap price of slum housing by code enforcement and/or taxation. Dean Abrams' block-by-block research shows that in Philadelphia, vigorous code enforcement has so deflated central-city housing prices there that a large percentage of the 14,400 row houses now vacant can be bought (or put) in decent move-in condition for \$4,000 cash or less. (Compare this with an average cost of \$20,500 for new public housing, and \$12,300 now budgeted by the Housing Authority to buy units and do them over completely, regardless of how much fixing up they really need.) If FHA or other special financing is made available, this \$4,000 cost would make it possible for even relief clients, black or white, to buy or lease decent used homes. Pittsburgh, on the other hand, has been fearful



**MAIER:** A good city is where people can get together for the good life.

**GAFFNEY:** We subsidize sprawl by subsidizing horizontal transportation.

that strict code enforcement might leave the 10,000 families homeless, and in New York the mayor's special housing adviser declared in 1961 that "no amount of code enforcement can stop the spread of slums unless and until the profit is taken out of slums by taxation."

- Only local governments can locate some of their own employment centers where they will be easy for the nonwhite poor to reach.
- Only local governments can tear down the obsolete and decaying school buildings found in most nonwhite slums, and replace them with up-to-date plants less likely to encourage high school dropouts (the average nonwhite boy quits school after the ninth grade).
- Only the local government, with financial support from Washington, can provide the nursery schools and the day-care centers needed to keep the preschool slum children of broken homes and working mothers off the streets, giving them some of the care, attention and mental stimulation middle-class children get from their families, so these slum children will be ready to keep up with their classes when they reach school age. This kind of need is already met by the state in Russia (another case where most mothers work outside the home) by including day-care centers, playgrounds, nursery schools and primary schools in the center of every new apartment block. In this respect it is high time for American cities to catch up with Russian ones. In New York, 80 percent of the

600,000 relief recipients whose support costs local, state and/or federal taxpayers \$700,000 a year belong to no-male-breadwinner families.

- Only the local government can provide or encourage the kind of bus or jitney service poor nonwhites need to get from where they live to jobs they can hold.
- Local government can provide neighborhood centers to help slum owners who want to improve their property understand and take advantage of all the various state, federal and foundation grants and aids available to them.
- Local governments can pressure the state to stop forcing them to discourage and penalize improvements with increased assessments and taxes. (Personal interview surveys in Newark and elsewhere make it clear that fear of higher assessments is a prime reason why slum property owners won't spend money to maintain or improve their properties.)
- Finally, the job needs of the nonwhite poor will not soon be met until local government cooperates in attracting and encouraging not just high-wage industries but also the kind of lower-wage industries and services in which unskilled workers could expect to find steady jobs.

Racial segregation is the worst kind of segregation because it is so rigid, so hopeless and so humiliating; but we deplore all one-class neighborhoods big enough to segregate their people from the larger community.

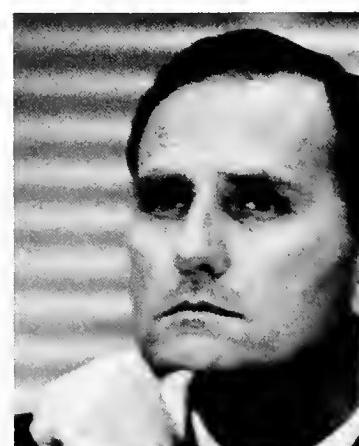
Suburbia is the great segregator, segregating not only white from nonwhite but also the lower-middle-class from the middle-middle-class, and the middle-middle-class from the upper-middle-class and the wealthy. We think this is as bad for those who are segregated in as for those who are segregated out. For example, it makes it harder for those who are segregated in to employ the kind and variety of help they need, while at the same time making it harder for many of those who are segregated out to get the kind of service jobs they need and could fill.

Small enclaves of people with the same background and about the same income are perfectly natural and no problem at all; there is no reason why millionaires should live next door to relief clients, and no reason why relief clients should

want to live between millionaires. But there are many good reasons why rich and poor, white and nonwhite should live close enough together to know how the other half lives, and to share the community of life and the openness of opportunity whose sharing is the first essential of urbanism. Big one-class or one-race neighborhoods frustrate ease of contact and ease of access; they deny variety, opportunity and the exchange of services; and the bigger the one-class or one-race ghetto, the more complete the frustration and denial.

Middle- and upper-income families pay in more ways than one for their flight from the city to one-class enclaves in the suburbs. They pay in travel time and all the extra hours they spend getting to and from the center. They pay in lost leisure, doing household chores they could otherwise find someone else to do. They pay in loss of variety and stimulation because they live too far from town. (Says the former AIA president: "One-class neighborhoods are just plain dull.") And they pay in higher prices and heavier state and federal taxes for supporting on relief millions of people who, in a better-integrated metropolitan society, might be self-supporting and helping to meet the labor shortage and up the gross national product in our full-employment economy.

It is more than a coincidence that the most underprivileged people in urban America must also be the most heavily subsidized (in Philadelphia, for example, 80 percent of the relief clients are nonwhite).



**LOEKS:** We are building a very static environment for a very changeable society.

**nation's**

**EXCLUSIVE REPORT cities**

# financing our urban needs\$\$

A PANEL OF EXPERTS ANALYZES THE CITIES' FINANCIAL CRISIS

## Introduction

ON THE NEXT 31 pages you will find the consensus on what to do about the urban financial crisis worked out by representative leaders from the

National League of Cities  
U.S. Conference of Mayors  
National Association of Counties  
Council of State Governments  
National Governors Conference  
Committee on Economic Development  
Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations  
National Commission on Urban Problems  
Ford Foundation  
Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.  
National Industrial Conference Board  
National Association of Manufacturers  
National Housing Center  
Regional Plan Association  
New York Economic Development Council  
Small Business Administration  
Tax Foundation

The roundtable conference at which this consensus was developed was held shortly before the presidential election under the joint sponsorship of the first five of the above organizations in association with Time, Life, Fortune, and the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. The precise wording of the subject they met to consider was: "The Financial Crisis of Our Cities: What Should the Federal Government Do To Help?; What Should the State Governments Do To Help?; and What Must the Cities Do To Help Themselves?"

The two-day roundtable was assisted in its deliberations by three outstanding university economists and by a former U.S. Commissioner of Education.

The word "consensus" should not be understood to imply unanimity. It implies only broad and general agreement; and the fact that these leaders were invited to the conference to represent their organizations does not mean that their organizations have officially approved the content of this report.

What the individual panelists said at the roundtable was off the record; otherwise it would have been impossible to get frank talk leading to such a sensible consensus.

**PERRY PRENTICE**  
*Moderator and Rapporteur*

## Here Are the Panel Members Who Discuss the Financial Crisis of Our Cities

**From the National League of Cities and the U. S. Conference of Mayors:**

**PATRICK HEALY**  
*Executive Director of the League*

**JOHN GUNTHER**  
*Executive Director of the Conference*

**HENRY W. MAIER**  
*Mayor of Milwaukee  
Past President of the League of Cities*

**JOHN R. COLLINS**  
*Ex-Mayor of Boston  
Past President of the League of Cities  
Professor of Urban Affairs, M.I.T.*

**TRAVIS H. TOMLINSON**  
*Chairman  
Revenue & Finance Committee  
Mayor of Raleigh, N. C.*

**NATHAN B. KAUFMAN**  
*Vice Chairman,  
Revenue & Finance Committee  
Mayor of University City, Mo.*

**WAYNE ANDERSON**  
*City Manager, Evanston, Ill.*

**ROBERT W. SWEET**  
*Deputy Mayor of New York City*

**From the Council of State Governments and the National Governors Conference:**

**BERNARD CRIHFIELD**  
*Executive Director*

**SEN. EDWARD L. MARCUS (CONNECTICUT)**  
*Chairman of the Governing Board*

**SEN. JOHN J. MARCHI (New York)**  
*Chairman,  
Committee on State Urban Relations*

**T. N. HURD**  
*New York State Budget Director*

**ALBERT G. GILES**  
*Director,  
Ohio Department of Urban Affairs*

**WAYNE F. McGOWN**  
*Secretary, Wisconsin Department of Administration*

**JULIAN STEELE**  
*Massachusetts Commissioner of Community Affairs*

**From the National Association of Counties:**

**BERNARD HILLENBRAND**  
*Executive Director*

**From the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations:**

**WILLIAM G. COLMAN**  
*Executive Director*

**From the National Commission on Urban Problems:**

**ALLEN D. MANVEL**  
*Associate Staff Director*

**From the Small Business Administration:**

**HOWARD J. SAMUELS**  
*Administrator*

**From the Committee for Industrial Development:**

**ALFRED C. NEAL**  
*President*

**From the National Association of Manufacturers:**

**A. WRIGHT ELLIOTT**  
*Vice President,  
Industrial Environment Department*

**From the U. S. Chamber of Commerce:**

**CARL MADDEN**  
*Chief of Economics*

**From the National Industrial Conference Board:**

**JOHN MURPHY**  
*Director, Department of Business and Government Relations*

**From the N. Y. Economic Development Council:**

**PAUL BUSSE**  
*Executive Vice President*

**From the Tax Foundation Inc.:**

**HERBERT J. MILLER**  
*Federal Affairs Counselor*

**For Public Education:**

**FRANCIS KEPPEL**  
*Ex-Commissioner of Education, HEW*

**From the Universities:**

**RAYMOND J. SAULNIER**  
*Columbia University (former Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers)*

**DICK NETZER**  
*New York University*

**MASON GAFFNEY**  
*University of Wisconsin*

**From the National Housing Center:**

**THOMAS P. COOGAN**  
*Past Chairman*

**From the Regional Plan Association Inc.:**

**JOHN P. KEITH**  
*Executive Vice President*

**From the Ford Foundation:**

**LOUIS WINNICK**  
*Deputy Vice President for National Affairs*

**From the Schalkenbach Foundation:**

**ALBERT PLEYDELL**  
*President*

**Moderator and Rapporteur**

**PERRY PRENTICE, Time, Inc.**

## Central city governments are being burdened with far more than their share of urban costs

**T**hey are burdened with more than their share of welfare costs, education costs, and regional facility costs. They are paying costs that should more properly be borne by the federal government, paying costs that should more properly be borne by the state governments, paying costs that should at least be shared by their suburbs, paying many costs that should be met by private enterprise and should not be subsidized by any level of government—federal, state or local.

They are burdened with far more costs than they can meet with their present taxing powers or their present tax resources, more costs than they can meet under today's state-imposed restrictions on their taxing authority, more costs than they can meet without pushing their tax rates so high that they would drive still more people and more business to lower-tax shelters outside the city line. Perhaps worst of all, in every state except Hawaii, they are burdened with state-imposed property tax rules that make them subsidize obsolescence, blight, decay, slum formation, and sprawl by undertaxation at the same time that they penalize and inhibit improvements by taxing them more heavily than any other major product of American industry except hard liquor, cigarettes, and perhaps gasoline.

They are burdened with costs so far beyond their own present revenue-raising powers that many mayors must spend far too much of their time begging grants-in-aid from the state and/or federal governments, so too many people seem to think the state and federal governments are subsidizing our cities. On the contrary, it might more truly be said that cities are subsidizing the state and federal governments by carrying heavy costs for functions which are a state or federal rather than a local responsibility.

The bigger the city the bigger the money squeeze is apt to be. New York spends for other-than-school costs 22 per cent as much as all other cities combined—half again as much per capita as the other cities over 1,000,000, nearly

twice as much per capita as cities between 500,000 and 1,000,000, nearly three times as much as the other 288. But many smaller cities (especially older cities) with less than their share of taxables and more than their share of poverty problems, school problems, sprawl problems, tax exemption problems, and integration problems are in trouble too.

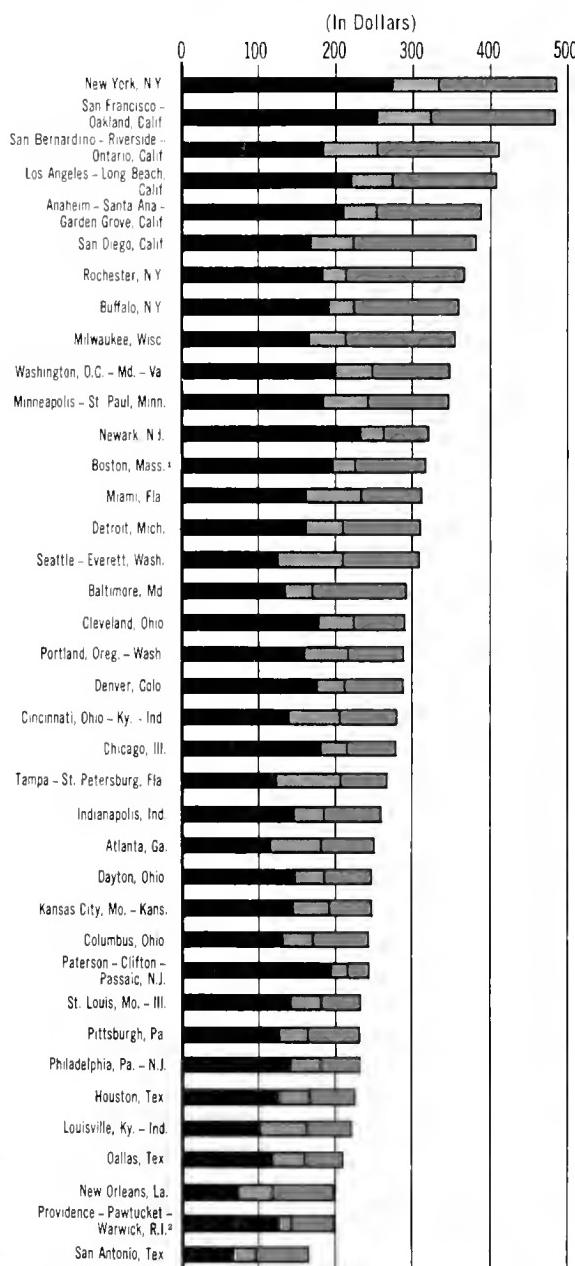
In some cities all the costs of local government are paid through the city itself; in others, the costs of welfare are paid through the county, the costs of education through the school board. But no matter how the local pay-out is handled, the same local taxpayers have to put up the money and the city finance problem remains the same: more costs than its local tax base can afford, more costs than its local taxpayers should be asked to carry, more costs than the city government, the school system, and/or the county government can meet without help.

From World War II through 1967 local governments raised their local tax collections 499 per cent, but city costs have climbed nearly 10 per cent faster. Now more and more cities are beginning to face municipal union demands for pay scales well above the levels paid by private business. They may find these union demands hard to resist without backing from the states—and these demands threaten to make the city money problems still worse.

So the question of more state and federal aid for our cities is no longer whether, but how. The question is no longer whether the state and federal governments should allocate more of their own tax revenues to meet local government needs, but how that allocation can best be channeled and directed so it will reach those places where it is needed instead of being dissipated where it is not.

But central cities should not kid themselves that the state or federal governments or the suburbs can or will come through with enough aid and relief to close the whole gap between local spending at the present rate of increase and local revenue from today's local tax practice. Once

**PER CAPITA GENERAL REVENUE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS**  
**For 38 Major SMSA's: 1965-66**



1 Massachusetts State Economic Area C.

2 Rhode Island State Economic Area A

Key



Taxes



Charges and  
Miscellaneous



Intergovernmental  
Revenue

U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

again the question is not whether, but how; the question is not whether cities must do far more to help themselves financially, but how best the cities can hold down their own local costs and step up their own local revenues.

At today's growth rates of city spending vs. city tax revenue plus state and federal aid, the urban deficit for the next 10 years is estimated by the National League of Cities at \$262 billion plus. If the gap is anything like that big, it is all too obvious that something must be done to close it; or, more correctly, many things must be done, beginning with a thorough reconsideration of what, if any, functions might better be performed and/or paid for by the federal government; what, if any, functions might better be performed and/or paid for by the state governments; and what functions might better be shifted to private enterprise.



**MAIER:** The states are much more to blame than the federal government for the cities' dilemma.

## For so many complex, tough, and costly problems there can be no one, no easy, no simple solution

They will not all be solved until the cities can get back more of the money the state and federal governments tax away from them. (See Page 23.)

They will not all be solved without first re-thinking clearly what level of government should do what and pay for what. (See Pages 25 and 26.)

They will not all be solved without a lot more federal aid—but the less federal aid the cities count on, the better. (See Page 27.)

They will not all be solved until a lot more states give a lot more help—but some states are already giving all they can afford. (See Page 28.)

They will not all be solved until the cities excess burden for education is shifted to a broader tax base. (See Pages 30 and 32.)

They will not all be solved until cities are relieved of their excess burden of poverty costs. (See Page 33.)

They will not all be solved unless and until cities do a lot more to help themselves, includ-

ing specifically . . .

Until they correct what's so wrong with the local tax system. (See Pages 36, 37, and 39.)

Until they impose more user charges to stop subsidizing what they should be trying to prevent. (See Page 43.)

Until they reorganize many of their operations to get more return for the money they spend. (See Page 44.)

Until they make revolutionary reforms to improve their costliest service—education. (See Pages 45 and 47.)

They will not all be solved unless the cities get federal help and encouragement to be more responsive to new needs. (See Page 34.)

They will not all be solved unless the cities are given more incentives to do more of their own taxing. (See Page 34.)

They will not all be solved until we all stop thinking small about the money that must soon be spent in and for our cities. (See Page 49.)

## Most state and federal money comes from the cities, but for two reasons cities can't finance themselves

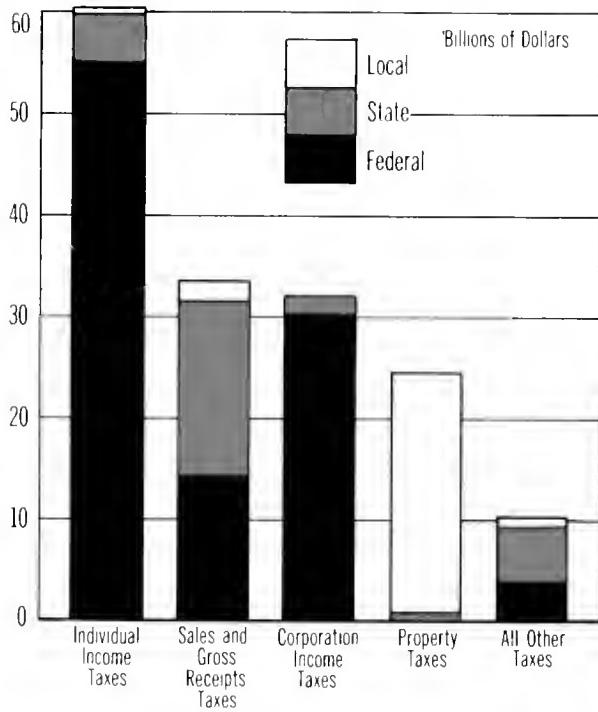
**Reason No. 1:** Cities are creatures of the states, and the states have seen fit to limit the cities' taxing powers, partly because the states do not want the cities dipping deep into the same tax sources the states depend on for their own support, partly because some state legislators still do not trust their cities, and partly because state legislators do not always understand their cities' problems.

We are unanimous that every state should repeal its constitutional limitations on local taxing power, reconsider its statutory limitations, and remove or at least ease them whenever they find this easing would not be inconsistent with a sound, comprehensive state-local taxing program. The property tax is the one tax that has always been reserved for local use, so most spe-

cifically we recommend that every state should (1) be far more liberal about how much revenue its cities can raise by this levy, and (2) stop forbidding local governments to tax the location values created by community investment more heavily than they tax improvement values paid for by the owner. The only reason most of us can see why states should perhaps keep some control over local property tax rates is to keep the various layers of local taxing units (city, county, school district, etc.) from overlapping the same tax source on which they all depend.

States set many of the standards local government must meet. Unless the states let local government collect locally the money needed to meet those standards, the states will have little

**TAX REVENUE BY TYPE OF TAX AND LEVEL  
OF GOVERNMENT: 1965-66**



U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

choice but to assume the cost out of the states' own revenues. So instead of restricting local taxing powers the states might be wiser to encourage local governments to raise more money locally.

**Reason No. 2:** Local taxes (and state taxes too, for that matter) are "competitive," i.e., too many local governments feel (often mistakenly) that they must compete with other local governments

to offer low local taxes as a decisive inducement to attract and hold business, industry, and population. The one and only reason the federal government can get away with an income tax schedule ranging from a minimum of 15.4 per cent to a high of 77 per cent is that no one can escape the tax without giving up his citizenship; but no city has dared raise its maximum income tax rate higher than 3 per cent for fear of speeding the upper-income and middle-income exodus to tax-cheaper suburbs. The federal government can get away with taxing business profits 52 per cent, but cities know that even a 10 per cent tax on business would drive out most of their business. Before New York City cut its sales tax back from 4 per cent to 2 per cent, a university research showed that each 1 per cent of tax was driving 6 per cent of all clothing and household furnishing sales out beyond the city line (along with thousands of jobs). Cities do not dare take full advantage of the one tax source that is everywhere reserved to them—the property tax—for fear of speeding the exodus of business and prosperous families to tax havens in the suburbs.

The biggest urban taxable that can't run away to tax shelters out of town is urban land. This could provide local government with an enormous captive tax base, estimated by the Douglas Commission at \$320 billion for urban land alone; but every state except Hawaii and Pennsylvania forbids its cities to tax land more heavily than they tax improvements (and new construction is just about the easiest taxable to drive away).

Even with this restriction most cities could collect much more revenue from land if they could and would get the often shocking under-assessment of idle and underused land corrected.

**1. KAUFMAN:** We have a throw-away society, and now we are throwing away our cities.

**2. TOMLINSON:** We must first decide which functions are up to the cities, which to the states, and which to the federal government.



1.



2.

## In today's constitutional jungle no one can know what government should do what or pay for what

**T**he central cities' need for more financial help from Washington and more help from the states is as urgent as it is obvious.

But we are also agreed that the need for a more rational method allocating that help is almost equally obvious and equally urgent.

The most significant achievement of the federal Constitution was its sensible allocation of what responsibilities (war, foreign relations, postal service, interstate commerce regulation, etc.) could best be met by the central government and what responsibilities could best be left to the state and local governments. For nearly 150 years this division, progressively modified to meet changing conditions, worked reasonably well without undue confusion.

But since the federal government began using the income tax to redistribute the wealth, the constitutional allocation of responsibilities and powers has been so eroded that nobody but nobody knows where the new dividing lines lie today or where else they will lie tomorrow. Under today's many-times-broader interpretation of the welfare clause, Congress has enacted so many splintered urban grant-in-aid and subsidy programs that even the federal agencies can't agree on how many there are. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations counted 379 last summer, but the number changes almost from month to month. No matter what the exact count may be, there are so many that city officials must spend countless hours studying a 701-page Catalog of Federal Aids to State and Local Governments.

In Washington, responsibility for voting urban grants is scattered around nearly all the congressional committees and subcommittees and responsibility for their execution is scattered in hundreds of agencies and offices. For example, 50 different federal agencies are all working on the problems of water supply and water pollution (up from 25 found by the Hoover Commission in 1955). Grants for urban renewal come from one department, grants for roads come

from another, grants for pollution come from a third.

Each of the 379 fragmented federal aid programs is developing its own federal bureaucracy with its own vested interest in self-perpetuation. These vested interests are growing so strong that it may already be too late to dislodge them and replace them with simple and coherent grant-in-aid programs.

With so many federal aids available to city officials who know how to find them and tap them, mayors must spend far too much of their time scheming for federal handouts. For example, Oakland, Calif., has landed 134 separate subsidy programs and keeping track of them is more than a full-time job.

With so many subsidies available to tap, the first question asked about any local spending proposal is too apt to be, not whether the spending would be wise, but "what are the chances of getting federal money to pay for it?" Here are some of the subsidy questions city governments must ask:

**Can we get the federal government to pay half the cost of a new city hall and civic center?**

*Answer: Better try—the boomerang city in Michigan did, under the federal depressed area accelerated works progress program!*

**Can we get the federal government to pay for ornamental statuary in our subway stations?**

*Answer: Philadelphia did, under the federal beautification subsidy program!*

**Can we get the federal government to pay for ornamental street signs and decorative hydrants?**

*Answer: Probably not. Louisville tried and got turned down.*

**Will the federal government bail out our slum landlords by buying them out at prices averaging 10 times the assessed valuation and three times the reuse value?**

*Answer: Yes, under the urban renewal land write-down subsidy program.*

We are unanimous that today's proliferation

of less-than-half-coordinated federal programs and subsidies should be stopped. It is much too wasteful and falls far short of meeting the cities' needs.

As a first step towards rationalizing them, most of us would recommend that all the federal categorical grants should be reorganized and consolidated along functional lines, so each city could choose, for example, whether to spend its health subsidy for mental health out-patient clinics or for venereal disease control, or whether to spend its transportation funds for harbor development, rapid transit, or airport improvement.

While we do recognize that the federal government must keep some reasonable control over how its grants-in-aid are spent, we believe local residents are better able to decide what they need most than officials far away in Washington. Who in Washington could have known that the people in Pittsburgh's Hill slum would assign their three top urban renewal priorities to (1) collect our garbage, (2) repave our streets, and (3) give us more street lights? And who would have dreamed that in Columbus, Ohio, the East Central Citizens Organization would decide their most needed subsidy was money to inoculate all the neighborhood dogs for rabies!

## Confusion is worse confounded at the local level with 80,000 local governing and taxing bodies

Confusion in Washington over who should hand out aid is matched by local confusion over who should get it.

**Confusion runs horizontally.** Except in a few cities, there are at least three layers of government almost everywhere and often five or more (county, city, school district, fire district, water district, library district and what have you) all superimposed and all levying taxes on the same local property through 14,000 primary assessment districts, most of them too small to employ professional assessors.

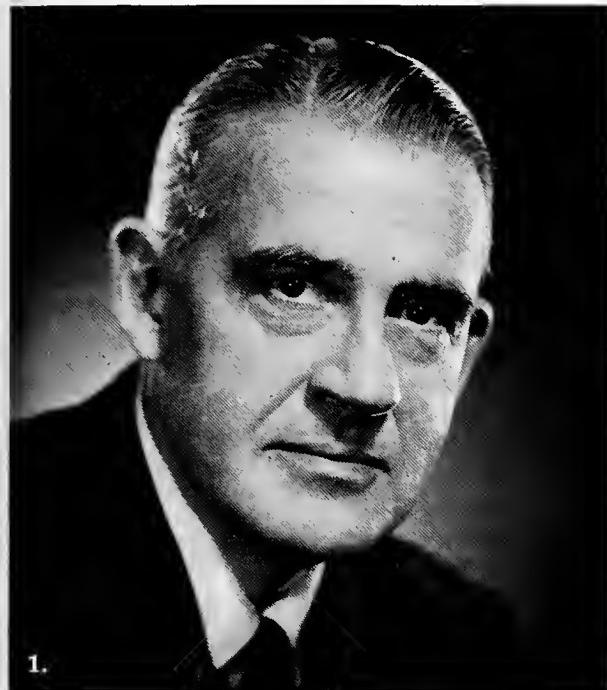
**Confusion runs vertically.** Not counting thousands more outside, there are some 22,000 local governments inside the 228 standard metropolitan areas, including thousands of small school districts, thousands of small special districts, and 5,000 separate municipalities, half of which have less than 2,500 population and cover less than one square mile.

Some municipalities and some school districts (notably the central cities and their schools) have desperate need of far more state and federal aid. Other municipalities and school districts have less than their share of costly problems and can get along very well without it. But this we can predict for sure:

Regardless of local need or lack of need, any dramatic increase in state or federal aid (like revenue sharing) would start almost every municipality, every county, and every school district fighting for its full share and more.

So the first question raised by revenue sharing would be the very touchy political problem of how to direct the shared revenue where it is needed and keep it from flowing where it is not. Today the shocking fact is that, in most states, per capita state aid is greater to the suburbs than to the central cities whose need is so much greater!

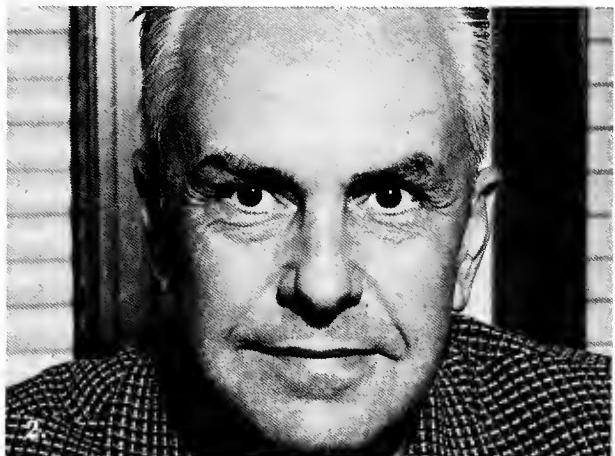
State governments would like to have full control of allocating the federal money; city governments would like to get their hands on the money direct; county governments are pressing similar claims. So now the National League of Cities, the National Governors Conference, and the National Association of Counties are trying to work out a compromise revenue sharing proposal under which perhaps half the desired increase in federal-local aid would be channeled direct to cities of over a certain size under some allocation formula still to be worked out, a formula that would give weight both to the city's needs and to its own tax effort to meet those needs.



1.

**1. CRIHFIELD:** If we had a better property tax system we could shift the urban renewal subsidies to meet other needs.

**2. COLMAN:** Technology has not yet reached the urban problem.



2.

## Much as some of us favor much bigger urban aids, cities should not get their subsidy hopes too high

There is no reason to believe, and little reason to hope, that the federal government will increase its urban grants-in-aid, which now total only about \$2 billion directly to the cities and \$4 billion more indirectly through the states, on a major scale with the end of the Vietnam conflict.

It is quite true that the federal government now gets 64 cents out of every tax dollar vs. the states' 19 cents and local governments' 17 cents.

It is also quite true that the federal tax on business profits is so high and the federal income tax rates are so steeply graduated that every new peak of inflation and every non-inflationary increase in the Gross National Product gives the federal tax collectors a bigger share of the GNP. It is quite true that at present rates federal income tax receipts are climbing \$10 billion a year, with each \$1 billion growth in GNP pouring some \$200 million more into the federal treasury. It is quite true that at present rates federal receipts

will climb so much faster than projected federal non-war costs that by 1975 the federal surplus could be running \$54 billion a year. It is quite true that ending the Vietnam War would make more federal billions available for domestic programs, though not necessarily the \$30 billion that is now being talked up.

It is also quite true that the federal government—and only the federal government—has unlimited borrowing capacity for operating as well as capital expenses.

But this easy forecast of federal opulence leaves three big questions unanswered:

**Are these very stiff federal tax rates wise, or are they too big a drag on the economy?**

The corporation tax takes 52 per cent of the admitted profits of corporate business (plus another 5 per cent or so in accelerated payments). On top of that the personal income tax takes an

average of some 30 per cent of whatever corporate profits are paid out in dividends, so all told the federal government is now taking close to two-thirds of business profits from all but the smallest corporations.

Meanwhile the personal income tax takes a quarter of any taxable income the father of two can earn above \$12,000 a year, a third of anything he can earn above \$22,000, and half of anything he can earn above \$40,000. Figuring out ways to escape these taxes has become big business. Corporate executives are getting more and more insistent on taking out their pay in tax-avoiding stock options and deferred compensation; labor unions are pushing more and more demands for tax-exempt fringe benefits.

Affirmative evidence that such stiff tax rates can be a heavy drag on the economy was given by how the small relief provided by the Kennedy tax reduction abetted an overnight acceleration in the GNP growth rate. Converse evidence was the widespread expectation that the 1968 tax surcharge would slow the rate of growth, an expectation that might well have come true if inflation psychology had not called off all bets.

Even at today's stiff tax rates the federal government has been able to balance its budget in only two years since the end of World War II. This gives small support to the idea that the

federal government has unlimited money to spend.

**Whether or not the present federal tax rates are wise, is the voting public willing to go on paying them?**

The one thing we know for sure about today's public attitudes is that the public is angrily dissatisfied and clamoring for change. There is some reason to believe that tax reduction might be the most welcome change of all.

**Even if the voters are willing to continue present federal taxes, how much of the increase can the cities hope to cut themselves in on in competition with all the other claimants for federal largesse?**

For example, how much would be left over for the cities if the federal government votes some form of negative income tax at a cost of, say, \$12 billion a year? And what reason is there to believe the alliance of big business and big military will not find ways to cut itself back in on a big share of any defense saving that may follow peace in Asia?

All of us agree the cities should get more financial help from Washington. All of us wish the cities well in getting it.

But most cities would be foolish to count on major federal help.

## Some states are doing much more than others to help their cities meet their money needs

Helping their cities meet their growing needs is much more than a challenge and a responsibility for the states. It is also an opportunity they cannot afford to pass up to reassert and re-establish their position as the foundation units on which creative federalism must be built.

Some states are seizing this opportunity; others are not. Too many states have been far too slow to recognize their role, responsibility, and stake in facing the problems raised by the urbanization of the nation.

States are now contributing some \$16 billion to local government costs (not counting a \$4 bil-

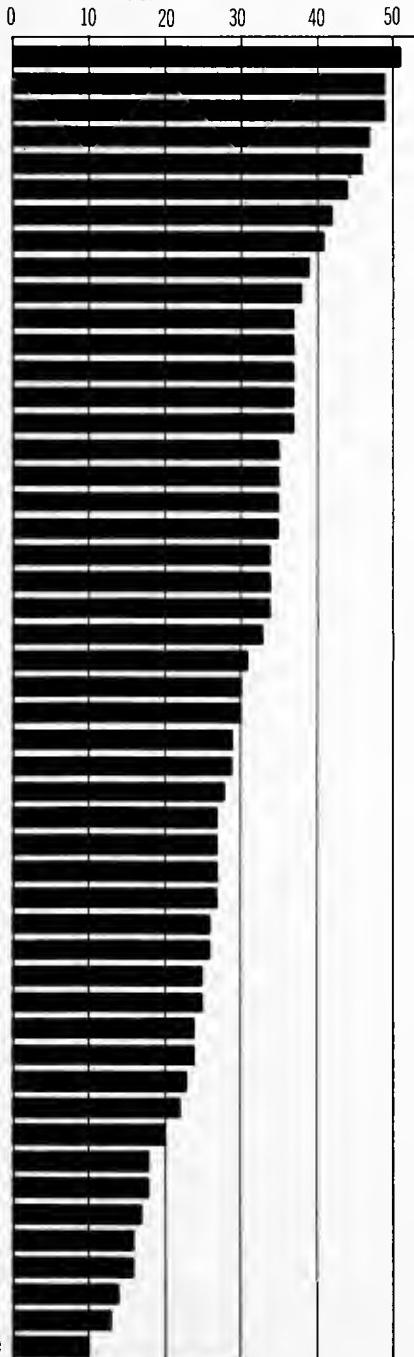
lion pass-through from Washington), but only a minor fraction of this is allocated to city governments and only a very small part is available to help the cities meet their peculiarly urban problems like pollution and mass transportation. Most state aid to local governments is earmarked for the long recognized needs of education (62 per cent in 1967) or for relief (16 per cent).

One big reason the federal government involved itself in so many different urban aids and programs was to fill the vacuum left by the states' slowness in recognizing many problems that are far more urgent in the cities than in

**LOCAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL REVENUE FROM STATE  
AS PERCENT OF TOTAL LOCAL GENERAL REVENUE**

For States: 1965-66

Per Cent



U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

rural areas. Conversely, this state inaction is one big reason (but by no means the only reason) why so many cities are now trying to bypass their state governments and carry their appeals for help direct to Washington.

Some states are doing much more than others to help their local governments, either by sizable grants-in-aid or by taking on responsibility for some activities and costs that would otherwise hit locally. For example, more than half the states provide for practically all public welfare expenditure that is not federally financed. But local taxes must foot much of this bill in California, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and various smaller states, and since welfare costs are typically greatest in the central cities they are particularly hard hit.

Nationwide, the states and local governments contribute about 50-50 toward the combined cost of state-local services, and in most of the south the states' part is considerably more. But the state-provided share is far less than the national average in such urban states as California, Illinois, Ohio, and New Jersey—and even in New York, though payments to local governments make up more than half the New York state budget.

States set up the laws under which local governments must operate, including the laws by which local taxing powers are restricted and local government is allowed to stay fragmented, so all of us agree that all the states and not just a few should take a more active part in solving some of the resultant problems and pay more of the cost.

At the very least, even the less prosperous state governments could and should help out by giving city governments more authority to help themselves (including, for example, more authority to annex adjoining territory, more authority for some degree of extraterritorial planning, zoning, and subdivision control on the urban fringe, and more authority to ease the costly wastes of building code chaos by adopting uniform construction codes and standards by reference).

Today some states are actually making their cities' financial plight worse instead of better by (1) mandating local expenditures like salary increases for police and firemen, mental outpatient clinics, and a host of other functions without providing any money or any added local taxing powers to pay for them, and/or by (2)

voting tax exemptions at local expense to win support from favored voter groups like veterans and farmers.

The least the states should do is compensate local governments for any and all local revenue lost as a result of such state-ordered special exemptions. And we are almost unanimous that cities should no longer be expected to give the state and federal governments a free ride on local services by giving all state and federal property a multi-billion-dollar tax exemption. Why, for example, should New York City subsidize the Army with a \$37,340,000 exemption on Fort Hamilton, or subsidize the Navy with a \$50,940,000 exemption on Floyd Bennett Field?

Prior to 1959, when New York took the lead, no state had even set up an office or council for community affairs; and before the racial disorders began focusing voter attention on the

"urban crisis" only Alaska, Rhode Island, California, and Tennessee had acted on the recommendation of the Council of State Governments and followed New York's lead. Now 21 states have established such an office; and eight, led by Pennsylvania and New Jersey, have upgraded it to department status. Their functions are still mostly coordinating and advisory (including advisory service on how to get more federal subsidies). Only half of these 21 states (less than a quarter of the total) give their urban offices any substantial money to contribute towards local costs.

As of the end of 1967, 20 states were helping local communities meet the local contribution required for federal waste treatment, sewage, and/or water facilities, eight were helping on urban renewal, 10 on urban mass transportation, and at least nine on air pollution control.

## Here are four big reasons why education costs should be shifted to the state and federal level

**Reason No. 1**—The central city tax base just plain cannot afford to carry all the cost of city schools. For example, one big reason New York's finances are so critical is that its school costs have soared to equal nearly 80 per cent of the city's property tax take, despite New York's having three times as big a property tax roll as any other city and taxing it at a rate more than twice the national average.

**Reason No. 2**—The impact of school costs varies too widely from one tax jurisdiction to the next, and it costs central cities much more than it costs the suburbs to give all children comparable schooling.

Some of this uneven impact is inevitable, because (1) slum families tend to have more children per family to educate at public expense, and because (2) it costs much more per pupil to educate children from "culturally deprived" slum families than it costs to give comparable education to children from educated families. New York City already spends more per pupil for the public schools in Harlem than the grade school

tuition in the city's most expensive private schools—and even that is not enough.

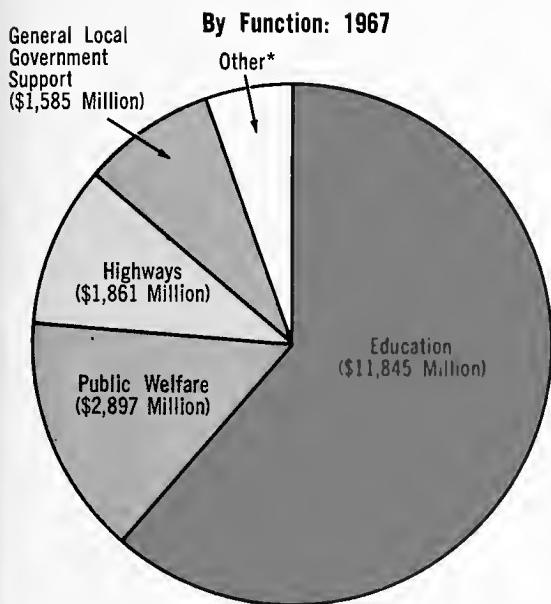
Some of the uneven impact is accidental, because some tax jurisdictions just happen to have fewer children per assessment dollar to educate.

But much of the uneven impact is deliberate, the result of (1) suburban zoning conceived for the express purpose of zoning tax resources in and school costs out, and (2) tax shelters created with the express intention of attracting industry by the promise of low school costs and therefore low local taxes.

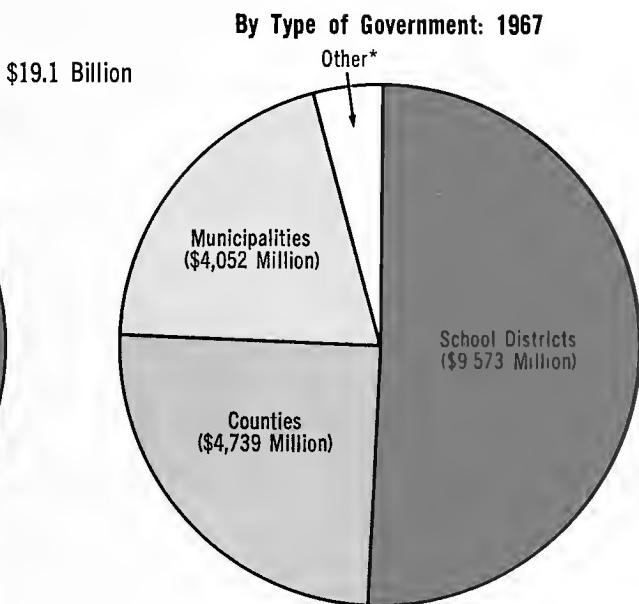
Whatever the cause, the consequences of this uneven impact are likely to get progressively worse as more and more substantial taxpayers, both business and individual, seek to escape from high taxes by moving to low-school-tax areas, leaving the heavy school costs behind in the city to be paid out of a tax base diminished by their flight.

**Reason No. 3**—With our increasingly mobile population it no longer makes sense to think of education as a local cost and treat it as a local

## STATE PAYMENTS TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS



\*Detail of "Other" (in millions):  
Hospitals, \$116; Health, \$185; Miscellaneous, \$567



\*Detail of "Other" (in millions):  
Townships, \$588; Special Districts, \$104

U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

cost to be paid for out of local taxes. Most of the children now being educated in central city schools will move somewhere else as soon as they grow up, and half the families whose children add most to central city school costs come from somewhere else. Furthermore, the need for an educated citizenry all capable of supporting themselves in an economy making more and more educational demands is a national need that knows no local limits. It is a need we cannot afford to slight, for a Committee on Economic Development study found that from 1929 to 1957 some 21 per cent of the growth in real income per worker was due to better education of the labor force and another 36 per cent to the advance of knowledge. Said the President's Council of Economic Advisers: "Education is the most important force behind economic growth."

**Reason No. 4**—If education costs were taken over by the states or heavily subsidized on a per pupil basis (instead of per average attendance), suburbs would have one less reason for restric-

tive zoning to keep out children and one less reason to resist annexation or consolidation into larger and more functional governmental units.

For each and all of these four reasons, we believe that the costs of education should no longer be treated as local costs or paid for out of local revenues (except where local taxpayers may choose to impose additional taxes on themselves to pay for added educational advantages for their children).

Instead, most of us would recommend that every state should assume a much bigger share of the basic costs of meeting the state-determined standard of education.

And we would also urge that the federal government should supplement the state effort by (1) assuming a much bigger share of the tax-supported costs of higher education, (2) paying the poverty-related costs of educating children from "culturally deprived" homes, and (3) recognizing that many states will need help to bring their educational standards up to an acceptable national norm. (Mississippi, for example, spends

a larger percentage of the total income of its population on education than almost any other state, but the income level there is so low that it can spend only \$412 per pupil for its schools.)

We do not believe increased state financing of school costs should give the states increased control; on the contrary, we are almost unanimous that city people in each local school district should be encouraged to take a more active

interest in how their children are educated and given a bigger voice in how their local schools are run.

If the states put up all or almost all the money for the public schools, many of us believe the states should keep some control over teachers' salary levels; otherwise local school boards might be too ready to yield to union pressures for higher pay on the general theory that the state will pay the bill anyway.

## Without a lot more help to pay for better schools, central cities will go on losing middle-income taxpayers

Poor families want more money spent for better schools in the slums. Middle-income families want more money spent for better schools for middle-income children. Both demands are justified, but where will the money come from?

Ghetto families are registering their discontent noisily by riots, sit-ins, and loud demands for neighborhood control of their neighborhood schools. Middle-income families are registering their discontent much more quietly but just as forcefully in two ways, both of which threaten to make the central city school problem worse:

- Millions of middle- and upper-income families are moving out to suburbs where they can have some assurance that the heavy school taxes they pay will be spent to provide the particular kind and quality of education they want for their own children instead of being spent mostly to provide the often-quite-different kind of education needed by children from the slums. Families with school-age children account for most of the "flight to the suburbs," just as families whose children have finished school account for most of the move back to town. Desegregation is speeding this middle-income exodus but did not start it; the exodus began long before desegregation became an issue, and many middle-income non-white families are joining the exodus when they can. Its prime motivation is the strongest middle-income motivation of all: the desire to give their children a good start in life.

*How much longer can the central cities afford to lose the school taxes of these upper- and middle-income taxpayers?*

• Millions of middle- and upper-income families, black as well as white, are taking their children out of public school and often paying high tuition to send them to private or parochial schools. In Washington less than a third of the white families who still live in the capital send their children to public school. In New York nearly 400,000 middle-class white and more than 25,000 non-white children now go to private or parochial schools. Racial desegregation has speeded this resegregation by incomes, but once again desegregation did not start it; it began long before racial desegregation became an issue.

*How much longer will these upper- and middle-income families be willing to vote heavy school taxes for schools to which they are unwilling to send their own children?*

Obviously someone must pay the extra costs of educating children from "culturally deprived" homes. But we sympathize with the unwillingness of the upper- and middle-income families who still live in the cities to pay a disproportionate share of these costs and we sympathize with their insistence that city schools should be as good as suburban schools for their own children.

All this adds up to one more big reason why school costs should be spread over a broader geographic tax base.

## Some cities pay far more than their share for poverty; these costs should be spread over a broader base

**P**overty is highly localized, but poverty is not just a local problem. Its cause is more often national or regional, and it can seldom be cured by local action.

In some localities poverty costs are no problem at all. In most central cities they are a heavy drain. New York has a million people on welfare, with relief payments so generous that the unskilled and needy are attracted there from all parts of the country.

Much of the poverty in our big central cities is what got left behind when upper- and middle-income families moved out to the suburbs. And much of the poverty in our big central cities moved there from somewhere else as millions of workers displaced by farm or mine mechanization swarmed into the cities vainly hoping to find jobs.

All of us agree that all the tax costs of poverty should be spread over a broad geographic tax base and most of them should be borne by the federal government.

All of us favor this upward shift for the very practical reason that only the federal government has the tax resources needed to cover the cost.

Some of us also favor the upward shift for somewhat theoretical reasons, arguing that the federal government has formally assumed responsibility for maintaining national prosperity and full employment, so the federal government should also bear the responsibility for failures and pay the costs where poverty continues in the midst of plenty. They further argue that:

Only the federal government can formulate and activate a coherent national urbanization policy. Only the federal government can offer tax incentives to direct business and industrial location into poverty and unemployment areas, and only the federal government can direct the multi-billion-dollar flow of its own purchases where it is needed most. Conversely, only the federal government can maintain a computerized national employment and information service to steer the flow of displaced workers to places

where they would be most likely to find jobs. Only the federal government could be expected to provide interstate resettlement and new-job-training allowances. And only the federal government can even out the standards of relief payments so jobless families will have less cause to concentrate in high-relief-payment centers like New York, where monthly aid to dependent children averages \$241.65 per family, New Jersey (\$229.05) or Connecticut (\$220.90), compared with \$34.85 in Mississippi and \$26 in Puerto Rico.

Half the states now pick up the check for all or nearly all the public assistance payments the federal government does not cover. We are almost unanimous that all the other states should do the same. But these welfare payments now borne by local government are only a small part of the local tax cost of poverty. They total today only about \$1.5 billion, and the central cities need far more help than that to meet the other costs of poverty that are concentrating there.



**ANDERSON:** The carrot of fiscal incentive can speed the restructuring of local government.

## Even if central city needs were less urgent, here are two big reasons for more federal aid

Poverty and education are the two costs whose impact is least equally divided, the two costs whose incidence bears least relation to the local property tax base on which local government still depends, on the average, for nearly 87 per cent of its local revenue. They are the two costs for which a broader geographic and economic tax base is most needed to lessen today's local inequities.

Freed from paying the costs of poverty and education, most cities could raise through a better-applied property tax alone all the money they would need to meet their remaining money needs, improve all their other services, and make city living more attractive.

This would still leave two big reasons why we would urge the federal government to continue making certain specific grants-in-aid to city governments:

**Reason No. 1**—The hope of federal subsidies has proven a most effective way to motivate local governments to tackle problems and meet needs (like air pollution) they have too long neglected.

**Reason No. 2**—The hope of federal subsidies could be the most effective inducement to get local governments to get together and consolidate or at least combine their operations. Local government needs to be broadly restructured to perform its proper functions well, but this restructuring will be far too slow in coming without the bait of federal aid. If metropolitan-area government units below a certain size were declared ineligible for federal bloc grants, we might be surprised by how many too-small units might decide to get together.

## Cities and states should be given incentives to do more taxing themselves to meet their needs

We recognize that the federal government is taking so much money out of the cities and states that some way must be found to get some of this revenue back to the lower levels of government. That is why we favor some form of federal tax sharing.

We recognize that some cities need more tax sharing than others because they are poorer and have less taxables; but we also recognize that some cities and some states are trying much harder than others to meet their money needs by levying heavier taxes on their own people, so we are unanimous that all cities and all states should be encouraged to do as much of their own taxing as they can before asking Washington to do the taxing for them.

To give them this incentive, all of us agree that:

Any allocation of urban aids and subsidies should give heavy consideration to how hard the needy local government is trying to meet its own needs.

How good a case for bigger state and federal subsidies can a city make if its property tax rate is well below the 2-per-cent-of-true-value national average and less than half the rate many other cities impose? Do cities where the state-plus-local tax burden is light rate the same increase in federal subsidies as cities where state-plus-local taxation takes half again as big a percentage of personal incomes? (vis., New York 13.2 per cent vs. Illinois 8.5 per cent, California 12.2 per cent vs. Ohio 8.2 per cent, Wyoming 13.2 per cent and Arizona 12.8 per cent vs. Connecticut 9.1 per cent and New Jersey 9.3 per cent).

And most of us would recommend that:

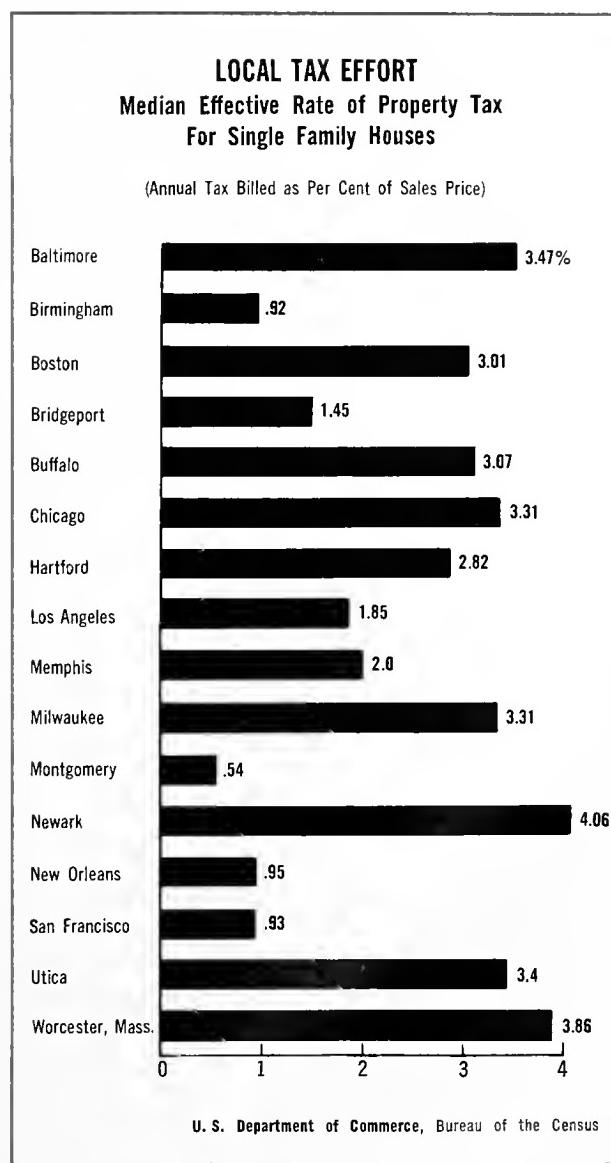
Stimulation of greater state and local tax effort might start by letting federal income taxpayers take a credit for the state and local taxes they pay, including, specifically, a much larger credit for the state and local income taxes because the income tax is very much underutilized at the state and local levels. This would give state and local governments a big new reason to do more taxing themselves instead of asking Washington to do the taxing for them.

As things stand today the heavy federal income taxation actually seems to have discouraged state and local income taxation. As long as the federal income tax rates were low (i.e., before 1937), 32 states imposed income levies; since the federal rates soared only three more states have begun taxing incomes; until just recently only nine states had ventured to raise their rate above 2 per cent. Now six have actually lifted the top bracket above 10 per cent (New York 14 per cent, Minnesota 12 per cent, Delaware, Hawaii, and North Dakota 11 per cent, Vermont a quarter of the federal levy).

If all states had raised the level of their state and local income tax collections to take the same income percentage as the 1966 average of the top 10, their income tax take would have been more than twice as big (\$11.2 billion in 1966 compared with an actual \$4.8 billion). Similarly, if all states had raised the level of their state and local sales tax collections to the level of the top 10, they would have had \$5.2 billion more of their own revenue to spend; and if all local governments had brought their property tax collections up to the average level that prevailed in the top 10 property-tax states, they would have had \$9.3 billion more of their own to spend from this source (\$33.8 billion vs. \$24.5 billion).

We recognize that southern cities may have their own good and special reasons for needing more help from Washington, but most of us think that whoever allocates that aid should remember that there are big differences in local tax effort even in the south. For example, in 1966 Birmingham taxed its median homeowner .92 per cent of true value vs. .54 per cent in Montgomery; Memphis taxed its median homeowner 2 per cent vs. .95 per cent in nearby New Orleans. Outside the south, according to the 1967 Census of Governments, Los Angeles taxed its median

homeowner twice as heavily as San Francisco—1.85 per cent vs. .93 per cent; Milwaukee almost three fourths more than Chicago—3.31 per cent vs. 1.94 per cent; Hartford nearly twice as heavily as Bridgeport—2.82 per cent vs. 1.45 per cent; and many other cities throughout the northeast made their median homeowners pay more than 3 per cent—including Baltimore 3.47 per cent, Boston 3.01 per cent, Worcester 3.86 per cent, Buffalo 3.07 per cent, Utica 3.40 per cent, and Newark 4.06 per cent.



More states should follow the example set by Maryland which encourages its principal local governments (the counties) to piggyback a county income tax at up to half the state rate on the state income levy. This is one good way to discourage local competition to see which community can offer the lowest taxes as bait to catch more business and more people. (Incidentally, to avoid confusion and senseless duplication of collection machinery, most of us would recommend that all local income and sales taxes should always be piggybacked on state income and sales levies.)

Regardless of how hard a city may try to meet its money needs by heavier local taxation, we recognize that most central cities and all big cities will still need much more federal aid. In fact, many of the cities most in need of more help are already among the cities where local taxation is heaviest. For example: no big city imposes a higher local income tax than New York, no big city collects a higher local sales tax, and few cities impose a heavier property tax—and yet few cities are in more urgent and obvious need of more state and federal money help.

## One very good way for cities to help themselves is to correct what's so wrong with the property tax

Wisely applied, the property tax on which local governments depend for 87 per cent of their tax revenue could be one of the wisest and fairest of all taxes; but as most cities apply it today it may well be the very worst—a weird combination of overtaxation and undertaxation, an incentive tax for what we don't want and a disincentive tax for what we do want. It harnesses the profit motive backward instead of forward to both urban renewal and urban development. Too often it makes it more profitable to misuse and underuse land than to use it wisely and fully, more profitable to let buildings decay than to improve them or replace them.

Too few tax levyers seem to understand that the property tax is not just one tax; on the contrary, it combines and confuses two completely opposite and conflicting taxes, and it would be hard to imagine two taxes whose consequences for urban renewal and urban development would be more different.

One of the two conflicting taxes fused and confused in the property tax is the tax on the improvement—the tax on what past, present, and future owners of the property have spent or will spend to improve it. And it must be obvious to anyone that heavy taxes on improvements are bound to discourage, inhibit, and often prevent improvements.

The other levy confused in the property tax is the land tax—the tax on the location value of

the site, the tax on what the property would be worth if the owners had never done anything or spent anything to improve it, the tax on the value that derives mostly from an enormous investment of other peoples' money and other taxpayers' money to create the community around it and make the location accessible, livable, and richly saleable. And it must be obvious to anyone that heavy taxes on the location cannot discourage or inhibit improvements; on the contrary, heavy taxes on location could put effective pressure on the owners to put their sites to better use so as to bring in enough income to earn a good profit after paying the heavier tax.

All this is so obvious that you would think every city would try to tax land heavily and tax improvements lightly if at all; but just the opposite is the case. Almost every city collects two or three times as much money from taxes on improvements as from taxes on land. In fact, many cities tax improvements more heavily than the combined local, state, and federal taxes on any other product of American industry except hard liquor, cigarettes, and perhaps gasoline.

A 3-per-cent-a-year tax on improvements may not sound big compared with an income tax averaging, say, 30 per cent, but it sounds small only because it is expressed as a percentage of capital, whereas the income tax, as its name makes clear, is expressed as a percentage of income. The enormity of the improvement tax

becomes self-evident when we restate it in income tax, in sales tax, and in consumer tax terms:

First in income tax terms:

A 3-per-cent-of-true-value tax on improvements is apt to tax away 75 per cent of the net income a new building would otherwise earn.

And now in sales tax terms:

A 3-per-cent-of-true-value tax on improvements is the instalment plan equivalent of a 52 per cent sales tax; i.e., it will cost the improver as much as a 52 per cent lump sum sales tax would cost him if he could finance it at 5 per cent interest over the 60-year life of the improvement.

And finally in consumer tax terms:

A 3-per-cent-of-true-value tax on improvements will cost the consumer more than a 25 per cent consumption tax; i.e., it will add more than 25 per cent to the rent a tenant must pay or more than 25 per cent to the carrying costs an owner must meet.

So no wonder New York's 4-per-cent-of-true-value tax on new improvements has stopped almost all private new construction in the city except for the seemingly unstoppable boom in never-mind-the-cost office buildings renting at \$8 to \$12 a sq. ft. and luxury apartments selling at \$10,000 a room or renting at \$100-plus a room.

And no wonder Boston's 6-per-cent-of-true-value tax on improvements brought all private construction to a halt until the law was changed so new improvements can be taxed only half as heavily as existing buildings.

The deterrent effect of the improvement tax is so obvious and so widely recognized that whenever government wants to encourage some favored project the first thought is to offer the builder tax exemption on the new construction. But this makes the city-wide problem worse by making it necessary to increase the improvement tax everywhere else, thereby increasing the tax deterrent for all other improvements.

## Cities could help themselves by taxing land heavily instead of, as now, subsidizing land price inflation

By definition, the value of unimproved urban and suburban land is created not by anything the owners have done to improve it, but by an enormous investment of other peoples' money to build the community around it and an enormous investment of other taxpayers' money to provide the infrastructure of roads, schools, water systems, sewage systems, mass transit facilities, parks, pollution controls, police facilities, fire protection, etc., etc., etc., needed to make the location easily reachable, pleasantly livable, and richly saleable.

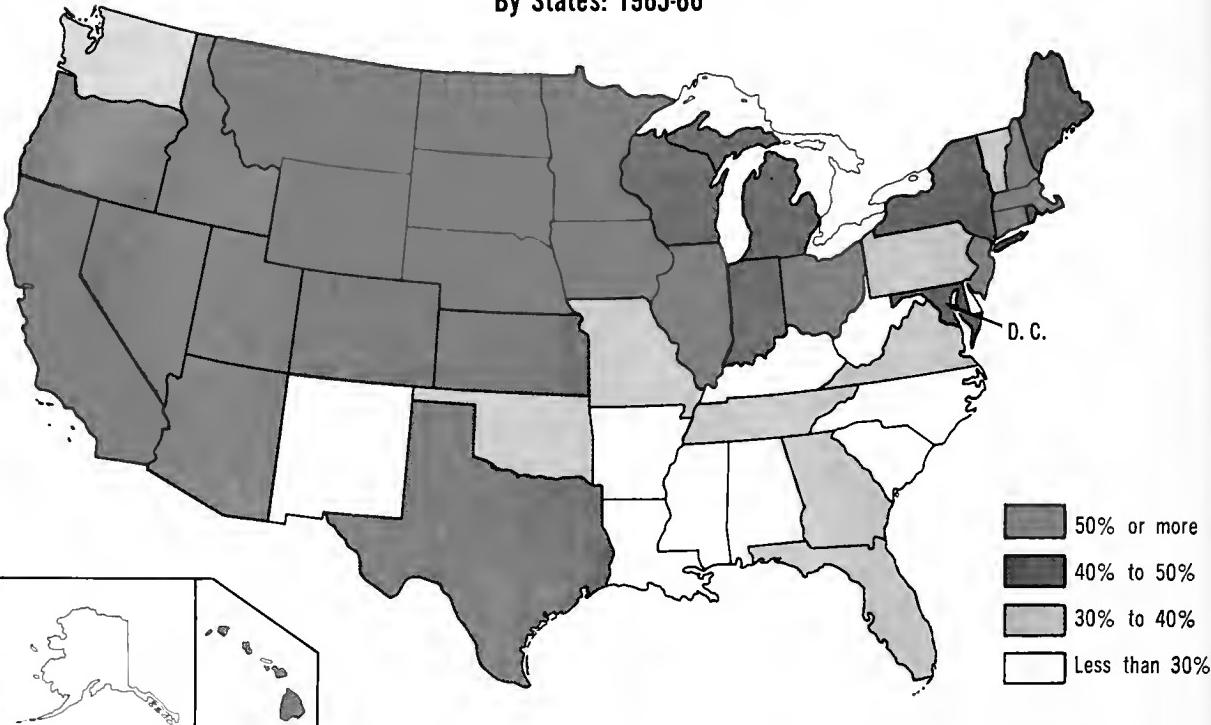
The enormity of this other-taxpayer investment is suggested by a Regional Plan Association report indicating that around New York it is averaging well over \$16,850 per lot in single-family locations, many times \$16,850 in multi-family locations. This \$16,850 figure is confirmed and given broader significance by studies for the Southern California Research Council that come within about a thousand dollars of the same figure for Los Angeles.

But the selling price of land is bound to be less

than its total value. How much less will depend on how much or how little of this enormous community investment of other peoples' money and other taxpayers' money the local government chooses to recover for the community by taxation and/or special assessments, and how much it allows the landowner to convert to his private profit. If the community made landowners pay back 100 per cent of this investment, the price of their land would often fall to zero or less. Today most local governments assess and tax unused, underused, and misused land so lightly that the tax makes the owners repay only a trifling share (perhaps 5 per cent) of the community investment that multiplied the value of their land. The other 95 per cent they are free to capitalize into higher and higher land prices.

This practice of public improvements for private profit gives land speculation an enormous hidden subsidy, a hidden subsidy so big that it may actually be bigger than all the farm subsidies plus foreign aid combined. And this is perhaps the biggest reason why building-site prices have

**SHARE OF STATE-LOCAL TAX REVENUE PROVIDED BY PROPERTY TAXES**  
**By States: 1965-66**



U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

been going up much faster than the prices of everything else. The Douglas Commission found that from 1955 to 1965 land prices climbed six times as fast as the index of wholesale commodity prices.

The smaller the land tax the bigger the land subsidy and the higher the land price can go. So we are shocked but hardly surprised to hear the Tax Foundation report that most of the federal urban redevelopment subsidies have gone to enrich the owners of slum property by raising the price of slum land (\$484,000 per average acre for the slum properties bought for demolition by the New York Public Housing Authority) and have done little to help the poor people living in the slums (just as the federal Report on the Causes of Rural Poverty found that the federal farm subsidies "have created a class of wealthy rural landowners but done little to improve the condition of the rural poor").

Here are a few of the many reasons why most of us believe the unimproved location value of

urban and suburban land should be taxed much more heavily:

- Quite simply, to help pay the cost of local government, including the cost of all the tax-paid improvements that make the location valuable.
- To offset the cost of untaxing improvements. Local governments depend on property taxation for nearly 87 per cent of their local revenue, so the only way they can afford to tax improvements less is to tax unimproved land values more.
- To slow down the pace of land price inflation.
- To exert heavy pressure on the owners of underused and misused land (including most specifically slums) to put it to better use now instead of waiting for further subsidies and further investments of other peoples' money to raise its price still higher (land speculators call this "waiting for it to ripen"). With land prices for building soaring 8 to 15 per cent a year, millions of idle acres are now so underassessed and undertaxed that the owner can hold \$1 million worth off the

market for a property tax cost of as low as \$5,000 a year, with up to 77 per cent of that \$5,000 deductible from his federal income tax.

- To let cities expand in an orderly manner instead of disintegrating in suburban sprawl and premature subdivision, with millions of close-in acres held off the market for speculation, thereby forcing homebuilders to leapfrog further and further out into the countryside to get land they can afford to build on and forcing industry to move further and further away from urban employment (and unemployment) centers to find enough land they can afford on which to build new plants.
- To save the tax waste of sprawl, which multiplies the cost of roads to reach sprawl-scattered homes, multiplies the cost of water distribution, multiplies the cost of sewage collection, multiplies the cost of mass transportation, inflates the cost of police and fire protection, and doubles the cost of getting children to and from school.

- To stop and perhaps reverse the futile spiral in which the multi-billion-dollar urban renewal subsidies are being capitalized into higher urban renewal land costs calling for bigger urban renewal subsidies that will in turn be capitalized into higher land costs requiring still bigger subsidies (land write-down subsidies, below-market-interest subsidies, tax exemption subsidies, or perhaps some new kind of subsidy).

These and other good reasons for taxing location values more heavily are spelled out at greater length in the careful research reports of

Prof. Dick Netzer for the Brookings Institution and the National Commission on Urban Problems; Prof. Lowell Harriss for the United States Chamber of Commerce and the Tax Foundation; and Prof. Mason Gaffney for the Urban Land Institute, the Lincoln Foundation, and the Schalkenbach Foundation.

And the Douglas Commission on Urban Problems is unanimously recommending that state governments vigorously explore the desirability and feasibility of placing new or differentially higher taxes upon land values.

And the President's Committee on Urban Housing (the Kaiser Committee) is urging a similar tax study "with particular emphasis on the potential beneficial effect of shifting more of the relative burden from improvements to land. Heavier taxation of site values has the apparent advantage of discouraging speculative withholding of land from development and of enabling the public to recoup more easily the benefits it bestows on local land owners through improvements like roads and sewers. Lighter taxation of buildings might remove existing tax disincentives which discourage new construction, rehabilitation, or adequate maintenance. This area seems a promising one for reform."

Says a Tax Foundation research: "A point of great significance and some urgency (is that) under present arrangements much of the intended benefit (of urban aid) will almost inevitably be incorporated into gains for land owners. They are not the persons for whom the assistance is designed."

## No urban renewal subsidy at all should be needed if the property tax were shifted to land alone

This is just one of the many significant findings of the Urban Land Institute Study—specifically for Milwaukee, but by implication for almost any other central city facing problems of blight, obsolescence, slums and decay (as all big cities do).

This four-year sampling of more than 2,500 separate land parcels—property-by-property, district-by-district—was conducted with the cooperation of the Milwaukee Tax Commissioner. It provides the first comprehensive analysis anywhere of just what could be expected if a city were to (1) stop collecting any property tax at all

on improvements, (2) assess all land as if the owner was putting it to a use commensurate with its market price, whether he was or was not, and (3) raise the tax rate on location values high enough to make up for the revenue loss from untaxing improvements. At long last, this study (of which we were given the first preview) provides a factual basis showing that in Milwaukee and any similar city that now collects roughly two-thirds of the property levy from improvements and one-third from location values . . .

## I

The shift would roughly triple the tax take from idle land, parking lots, gas stations, slums, and other decaying, obsolescent, or ill-advised buildings that add little (and sometimes less than nothing) to the value of the land they preempt. Actually it might do much more than triple their tax, because Milwaukee assessors, like all other assessors, tend to confuse the property tax with an income tax and therefore grossly under-assess underused land that is not bringing in enough income to pay the full tax on its market value.

So the shift would make it almost prohibitively unprofitable to keep close-in land idle or misused.

## II

The shift would add roughly 50 per cent to the tax take from properties whose improvement value approximates the location value, and it would make no change in the tax take from properties whose improvement-to-land ratio is close to the city average of two to one.

But on good homes, good apartments, good office buildings, and good commercial and industrial structures whose improvement value is likely to run at least four times their location value, the shift would cut the tax take by 40 to 75 per cent.

## III

The prospect of much lower taxation of good new buildings would jump the market price of close-in locations ripe for rebuilding at the same time that increased site value taxation would be putting heavy tax pressure on the owners of underused land to put it to more productive and more profitable use.

So the shift would so change the arithmetic of property ownership that no subsidy at all should be needed to make it profitable for the owners of almost all the parking lots and obsolete decaying or inadequate buildings that now preempt nearly three-quarters of the valuable land near the heart of Milwaukee (and most other big cities) to replace them with new buildings that would put the site to its "highest and best" use. This might be new offices, or new stores, or new low-cost housing, or new parking garages, or new high-rise apartments, or new garden apartments, or new single-family homes, or what have you.

## IV

The shift should not only end the need of any subsidy for urban renewal; it should provide such a stimulant to new construction and redevelopment that it could create just the opposite problem. The old problem has been how to end the construction stagnation that results in slums and decay; the new problem would be how to control a building boom that could wildly over-tax the construction labor and construction financing resources of the city as thousands of property owners rush to take advantage of the tax shift.

The shift would, in fact, be such strong medicine for what ails our cities that it would have to be given in small doses spread over a period of perhaps 10 years (as was done 50 years ago when Pittsburgh and Scranton shifted to the graded tax plan making the city tax on land twice as heavy as the tax on improvements).

## V

The shift would make good city planning at once much more necessary and more effective.

City planning is a negative power; it can keep property owners from doing what they ought not to do, but in a free economy it cannot compel them to do what they ought to do. Says the Douglas Commission in a fine understatement: "Regulations do not build cities;" and again: "Regulations seldom effect significant upgrading of deteriorating areas;" and again: "Regulations seldom effectively encourage imaginative urban design and too many times effectively discourage it."

Under the present property tax system that discourages new construction by heavy taxation and encourages obsolescence and decay by undertaxation, most of Milwaukee has passively defied effective city planning.

But when, as, and if a tax shift off improvements to land starts an all-out building boom, the planners would at last have a chance to prove their worth by directing its course to create a better city.

## VI

Contrary to common belief, tripling the tax on land would not be bad for landowners if at the same time the tax is taken off improvements. A

three-times-as-heavy tax on land would indeed be almost confiscatory if the owner of unused or underused land persisted in leaving it that way, but untaxing improvements would enable him to triple his profits if he improved his property and put his land to its highest and best use. (See III above.) This smaller tax on the improved package would be capitalized into a higher price for the land, so the landowner would find himself better off instead of worse.

Perhaps surprisingly, first to benefit from the shift might be the owners of valuable idle land, for they could be first to take advantage of the tax exemption on improvements.

The only landowners who would stand to lose by the tax shift are the owners of fringe land that now derives a fictitious value because the owners of so much closer-in land can now afford to hold it off the market waiting for still higher prices.

## VII

The shift would stimulate much more intensive use of valuable close-in land near the center of the city. In conjunction with heavier tax pressure on the owners of underused outlying land this would have important side effects:

- People who prefer low-density living should be able to find land they could afford roughly half as far out as now, for more intensive land use downtown would siphon off much of the demand that is now proliferating sprawl.
- Inner city and slum unemployment problems should be eased, because factories and other blue-collar employers could likewise find land they could afford closer to where poor people live. (Nationally, says the Department of Labor, 62 per cent of all new factories from 1960 to 1965 were built outside the central cities, i.e., remote from where unemployment is concentrated and more jobs are needed most.)
- More intensive use of downtown should, perhaps surprisingly, lessen downtown traffic congestion, because more people could walk, escalate, or use public transportation instead of driving to where they want to go. Says Professor Gaffney: "Sprawl is not a flight from congestion; it is a major cause of congestion by making more people use more cars to travel more miles to downtown."
- More intensive use of downtown should result in substantial savings on city costs, most of which are magnified by distance.

## VIII

How big a tax rate increase the shift would require to make up for untaxing improvements would depend on whether the assessors assign to the taxable land or the tax-exempt improvement the big increase in the value of fully improved property that would result from reducing the tax on it by more than 40 per cent.

If assessors follow their present practice of assessing the building first at cost-less-deprecia-



1.



2.

**1. COLLINS:** With a tax rate approaching 6.7 per cent of true value there would be no new construction.

**2. SAMUELS:** We must find ways to centralize the financing but leave the execution decentralized.

tion and assign all the big increase in residual value to the land, then the tax rate increase required by the tax shift could be small. If, on the other hand, they assess the land first and assign all the big increase in residual value to the improvement, then the tax rate on land alone would have to be at least tripled.

Serious doubts as to the correctness and soundness of today's practice of assessing the building first are raised by the Milwaukee sampling, which showed nearly a fifth of the properties on which the assessors assigned a substantial value to the improvement would have sold for as much or more if the land had been bare.

## IX

Assessment would be much easier and could be kept more accurate and closer to the present market if the assessors were relieved of the almost impossible task of assessing every improvement separately. Land only could then be assessed quite quickly from cadastral maps kept current by recording on them the market price shown by each sale in the area.

In Milwaukee today the assessors must spend 80 per cent of their time on improvements, only 20 per cent on land values.

## X

First step in the tax shift could be taken by just reversing the present practice of assessing underused land at a much smaller percentage of market value than fully improved properties, a practice that is somewhat less notorious in Milwaukee than elsewhere. But a complete shift in Wisconsin (as in every other state except Hawaii) would of course require the repeal of state restrictions requiring that the tax rate on land and improvements must be the same.

## XI

The shift should be popular with most voters because it would reduce the taxes on most owner-occupied homes (since their improvement-to-land value ratio is well above the city-wide average).

Taxes on slum property would be doubled or tripled but this would not affect many voters living in the slums, since most slum dwellers are renters and (as any good economist can demonstrate) taxes on land cannot be passed on, but must be paid out of the owner's own pocket (except under rent control).

The only voters hit hard by the tax shift would be the land speculators who are now making such a good thing out of today's property tax practice. (Unfortunately, they are by far the most powerful and effective pressure group in local politics.)

## XII

Last, but not least, the tax shift would make the financial plight of the local government easier. Instead of depending on a tax base subject to accelerating erosion as the older close-in buildings deteriorate without replacement and as industry and upper-income families move to the suburbs, the city would find its tax base growing and the flight to the suburbs checked by the tax-shift-induced construction boom close-in.

The 40-per-cent-or-more property tax saving that the shift would assure new offices and new industrial plants would make the city a more profitable place to do business in, and could therefore be expected to attract more business and industry, thereby further strengthening the tax base.

\* \* \*

Findings of the study in Milwaukee are already getting confirmation from the actual experience of Southfield, Mich., which almost overnight became the boomingest city in the state after a 1962 reassessment by outside assessors doubled the assessment (and therefore the tax) on land, thereby permitting a substantial reduction in the tax on improvements. Since then Southfield has recorded more new office building construction than 30-times-as-big Detroit next door; land values have continued to soar, until some acreage that was assessed at \$2,400 in 1961 is now assessed at \$100,000; and grateful voters have three times re-elected the mayor who instigated the tax shift.

## More cities should collect more user charges and stop subsidizing what they want to prevent

Service charges can serve a double purpose: they can produce a substantial revenue and they can discourage costly and wasteful practices that need to be discouraged.

We are unanimous in urging more cities to make more use of service charges, including specifically and for example:

To discourage today's almost scandalous waste of water, all water service should be metered at rates high enough to cover the cost.

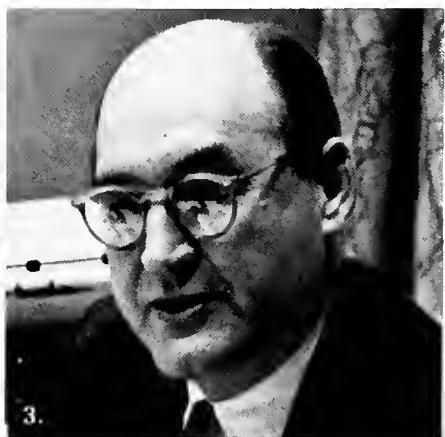
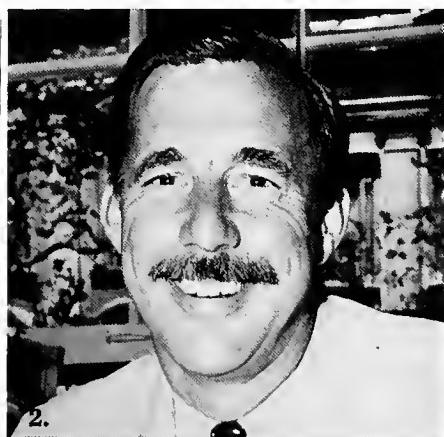
To discourage the on-street parking that is a main source of downtown congestion and traffic delays, parking meter rates should be raised at least as high as off-street parking charges in the same area. It is insane to let motorists park at the curb for 10¢ or 25¢ an hour where parking lots charge 50¢ or \$1.

To discourage industrial water pollution, industries that pour pollutants into streams and sewers should be charged the full cost of purification. If this policy can keep the Ruhr in Ger-

many safe for drinking there is no reason why the same policy should not do as much for the Hudson, the Mississippi, and Lake Erie.

To minimize air pollution, cities should charge property owners more for garbage collection than it would cost them to install and operate garbage incinerators equipped with water washers and electrostatic filters adequate to remove 99 per cent of all pollutants. The biggest reason New York cannot enforce its incinerator standards is that building owners just threaten to stop burning their trash and garbage and leave it for the city to collect and cart away free.

Instead of relying on the property tax to provide most of the local revenue, a few of us would even go so far as to favor abolishing this levy and substituting carefully-cost-accounted service charges to pay all the costs of local government except education, poverty, and traffic police (which they would shift to the state or federal levels).



**1. NEAL: People problems like welfare and education should be met with broad-based taxes, not by local taxes.**

**2. SWEET: School costs take half our total tax resources.**

**3. MADDEN: When you tax land low and tax improvements high you drive industry out of the city to find cheaper land.**

## One good way most cities could help themselves is to explore ways to get greater productivity

Private enterprise has been able to pay higher and higher wages only because over the years private enterprise has found ways to raise the level of labor productivity at least as fast as it raised the level of wages . . .

. . . partly by taking full advantage of mechanization to let machines perform faster and better many functions that were formerly done by hand;

. . . partly by job reassignment so skilled workers need no longer waste high-pay time on jobs that could just as well be handled by less skilled labor;

. . . partly by reviewing all their operations and eliminating work for which there is no longer any good reason.

Today, with far less productivity improvement, municipal pay scales are climbing nearly twice as fast as private industry's.

We are unanimous in urging that in most cities a broad review and reorganization of local government operations to improve productivity and hold down costs is now overdue. This review should also consider what savings could be achieved by making it worthwhile for private enterprise to take over many functions (like garbage collection) that are now performed by city employees.

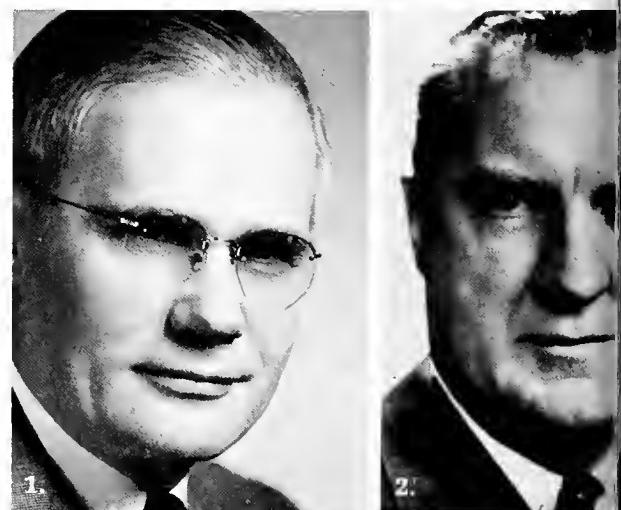
Here are three examples out of many we could cite to suggest that many cities could check their soaring costs by following the example of private business on mechanization, specification changes, and job reassignment:

**Example No. 1**—Cities could make it profitable for private enterprise to offer better equipment cheaper if they could and would coordinate and standardize their buying specifications. For example: today there is no such thing as a standard fire engine; almost every city allows its fire department to order something different and special. For another example: most cities could also save quite a lot of money rationalizing their fire hydrant purchases. What possible excuse can there be for tropical Honolulu's paying extra for hydrants that won't freeze in sub-zero temperatures?

**Example No. 2**—Most of us think it is high time

more cities began to coordinate police pay scales with police job requirements. It may well be true that many policemen are now underpaid for the dangerous and/or exacting work they are assigned to do; but it is also true that many jobs now done at full police pay (like ticketing parked cars and collecting tolls) could be done just as well at half the cost by persons with lesser qualifications. For some police functions like fighting organized crime the best is none too good; for other police jobs a high school graduate with courage, good health, and proper training can do at least as well as a Ph.D. So it makes no sense that in so many cities the starting requirements and pay scales for all police jobs should be so nearly alike. The end result of this leveling practice can only be higher costs for a mediocre police force.

**Example No. 3**—Cities could save much of the land cost for new schools on high-priced close-in



**1. PLEYDELL:** We can't fix what's wrong with the property tax until we can get better assessment.

**2. SAULNIER:** The tax on improvements is regressive, but the tax on the site is not.

and by following New York's example and sharing the site with an apartment tower, with the school occupying the lower floors entered from one side of the block and the apartments using the air rights above and entered through a lobby on the opposite side.

On outlying land cheap enough for one-story buildings, cities might save perhaps a third of the construction cost by not requiring fireproof construction where every classroom can have direct access to out-of-doors. (A fireproof building has been likened to "a stove whose contents can be burned up without damaging the container.")

Many cities could save much of their slum area school vandalism bill for broken glass (\$1 million a year in New York) by specifying unbreakable glass.

A broad study of how municipal costs could be held down by rationalizing municipal labor assignments and equipment purchases would threaten many vested interests in waste, patronage, and job security, so it may well be beyond the capacity (let alone the means) of most local governing and spending bodies. So help in its direction and financing might well be one of the very best aids the federal and state governments could offer the cities.

## Schools are the biggest challenge to control costs and still give children something better than ever

Many of us consider education a backward industry.

It spends least for research, development, and evaluation of its own processes—only a small fraction of 1 per cent.

It lacks any effective agency for getting schools to know and use what little research it does. This is a job the schools of education should be doing but are not.)

Its standards of professional compensation, both starting pay and top salary, are the lowest and its professional turnover is the highest, with one-third of the teaching force dropping out every five years.

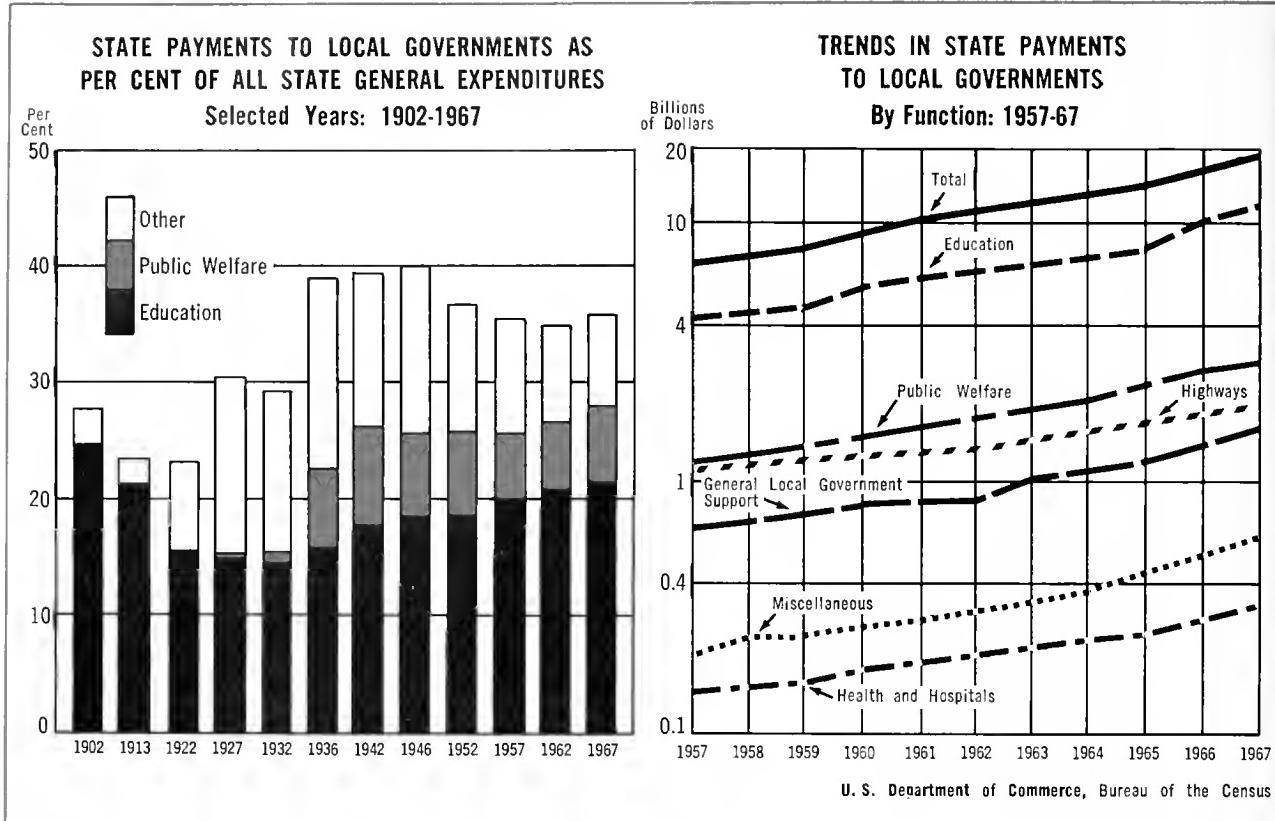
It lacks any accepted and reliable evaluation technique by which to judge the scope and quality of its service (which a CED study rates only 3 per cent better than in 1955, vs. a 32 per cent improvement in other public services). It applies no standard program accounting to identify costs and permit item by item comparisons with other schools.

It spends only 3.3 per cent of its budgets for all instructional materials, equipment, and supplies—compared with more than 60 per cent for salaries, whose level climbed 61.6 per cent from 1957 to 1968 with too little apparent gain in productivity.

It lacks any orderly pattern for effective co-operation among school districts, state school offices, universities, and the federal funding agencies.

Public school budgets have soared from \$12 billion in 1957 to \$28 billion in 1968, making education by far the biggest charge on local government. And now the U. S. Education Office says this cost will climb 37 per cent higher by 1975, mostly for the continuing rise in teachers' pay scales, the continuing (if slower) rise in enrollments (up 8 per cent in this decade vs. 37 per cent from 1955 to 1965), and a small continuing reduction in class size (from 26 to 24). It will climb much higher if our schools try to meet the growing demand for pre-schooling, longer schooling, vocational and technical training, and compensatory education. Pre-schooling alone will require another \$2.8 billion just to give an urgently needed head start to 80 per cent of the children below the poverty level at \$1,400 each.

Taxpayers have shown growing resistance to rising education costs by blindly voting down a third of the school bonds put on the ballot in 1966-67, and all of us believe a broad review of education costs and methods is long overdue. Up to now the semi-independence of most school boards has let them escape even the not-good-enough annual review and questioning to which



city governments subject the operations of the various departments under their direct control.

We are particularly concerned lest too much of tomorrow's bigger school budgets be absorbed by across-the-board raises to teachers under seniority-based salary schedules and by indiscriminate—though costly—reductions in class size.

We recognize the need for more rather than less individual contact between teacher and pupil, including particularly the need for more small-group discussions. But many teaching functions can be performed just as well with much larger groups than the present 26 average; in some advanced schools the basic instructional unit has been increased to 90 or even 120 students and the certified-teacher ratio increased as high as 50 to 1, with staff dollars redeployed to employ assistants and buy better teaching equipment, and permit higher pay for top teachers.

Instead of expecting all teachers to be all things to all pupils and paying all teachers more or less alike, we think it is high time to recognize

the great diversity of teaching talent and qualification by putting instruction on a team basis and introducing such categories as master teacher, teacher, assistant teacher, intern, and media technician, with differential and incentive pay for each gradation. We deplore today's simple standardization of teacher classification, certification, and pay scales, with teacher salaries based mostly on seniority and the accumulation of college credits.

Obviously any such educational reform as this is far beyond the means or the capacities of any single city or school district. It can be achieved only under the leadership of the state and federal education offices working together. We can think of no greater service the state and federal governments can perform at this time to help local governments—and most particularly central city governments.

And we hope it is not too much to expect that the educational establishment will cooperate instead of obstructing the needed changes.

## Here are two long overdue reforms that could make education much better for both teachers and pupils

With ten times as many boys and girls in high school and twenty times as many in colleges, we are trying to mass produce a cultured and educated citizenry without taking anything like full advantage of the revolutionary new audio visual and electronic teaching aids that are now available.

For some studies—like language and mathematics—the more expensive of these inventions make it possible to put mass education, not on a mass production basis, but paradoxically on a much better individualized basis by letting each student absorb the lesson at a pace he can set to fit his own capacity to learn, instead of forcing him to the faster or slower average learning rate of the other 25 pupils in the class.

For other subjects like history, geography, physiology, literature, science, and art, other and less costly equipment offers three great new advantages: (1) they make it possible to bring great teachers right into the room on audio-visual tape or film to help the class teacher; (2) they make it possible for these great teachers to reach and teach millions instead of dozens of pupils; and (3) they give all teachers a never-before-possible means to make their subject doubly interesting by bringing it to life before their pupils' eyes and ears. For example:

In telling students about Shakespeare and Hamlet they could bring Hamlet on stage in every classroom. In telling them about Napoleon they could let the class watch Napoleon in triumph at Austerlitz and in frozen retreat from Moscow. In telling them about the stars they could bring the Palomar Telescope right into the classroom to let the class see the galaxies in all their splendor. In telling the class about the human heart they could take their pupils into the operating amphitheatre to watch Dr. DeBakey make a living transplant.

Children have been quick to accept the new sight-and-sound medium. Every boy and girl, white and black, spends every spare minute in rapt silence before TV—far more time than they willingly devote to yesterday's written-word medium. Most of what they see and hear, alas, is

pap; but their fascination with the new medium is so keen that it offers a marvelous new opportunity for education.

And yet the educational establishment has been as slow as the children have been quick. After 40 years, far too few classrooms are equipped to use audio-visual recordings, and if they were so equipped too few teachers would know how to make good use of them. There are still far too few good-enough audio-visual teaching aids (let alone audio-visual courses) they could use, and for want of an audio-visual catalog of cartridge projector teaching aids there is no easy way to find the few that are available.

So in an age when almost everything else is being done cheaper and better with mass-production tools, the educational establishment is still trying to educate 45 million children not more than 30 at a time, arguing that all might be much better if only class sizes could be cut to 24 from today's 26 average and insisting that a culture that produces less than 1,000 good (and less than 10,000 competent) writers can provide more than 2 million teachers good enough to keep mass education on a semi-individual basis while educating the next generation far above the educational level of their parents.

Another question a review of education waste might well consider is how much longer we should make grade school teachers waste a quarter of their time teaching and make grade school pupils waste a quarter of their study time deciphering and memorizing the myriad absurdities of Dr. Samuel Johnson's still-almost-uncorrected 18th Century ideas of how English should be spelled. These are just a few such spelling absurdities:

Was rhymes with buzz, but not with as  
or has

Love rhymes with of, but not with move  
or drove

To rhymes with you, due, few, woo,  
through and queue, but not with go  
or so

Dear rhymes with here, pier, weir, and  
queer, but not with bear

- 1. WINNICK:** Productivity of municipal employees doesn't rise as fast as productivity in manufacturing.
- 2. HURD:** The broader the unit of equalization the greater the equity.
- 3. MILLER:** The federal government still can't make its spending and its revenues meet.



1.



2.



3.

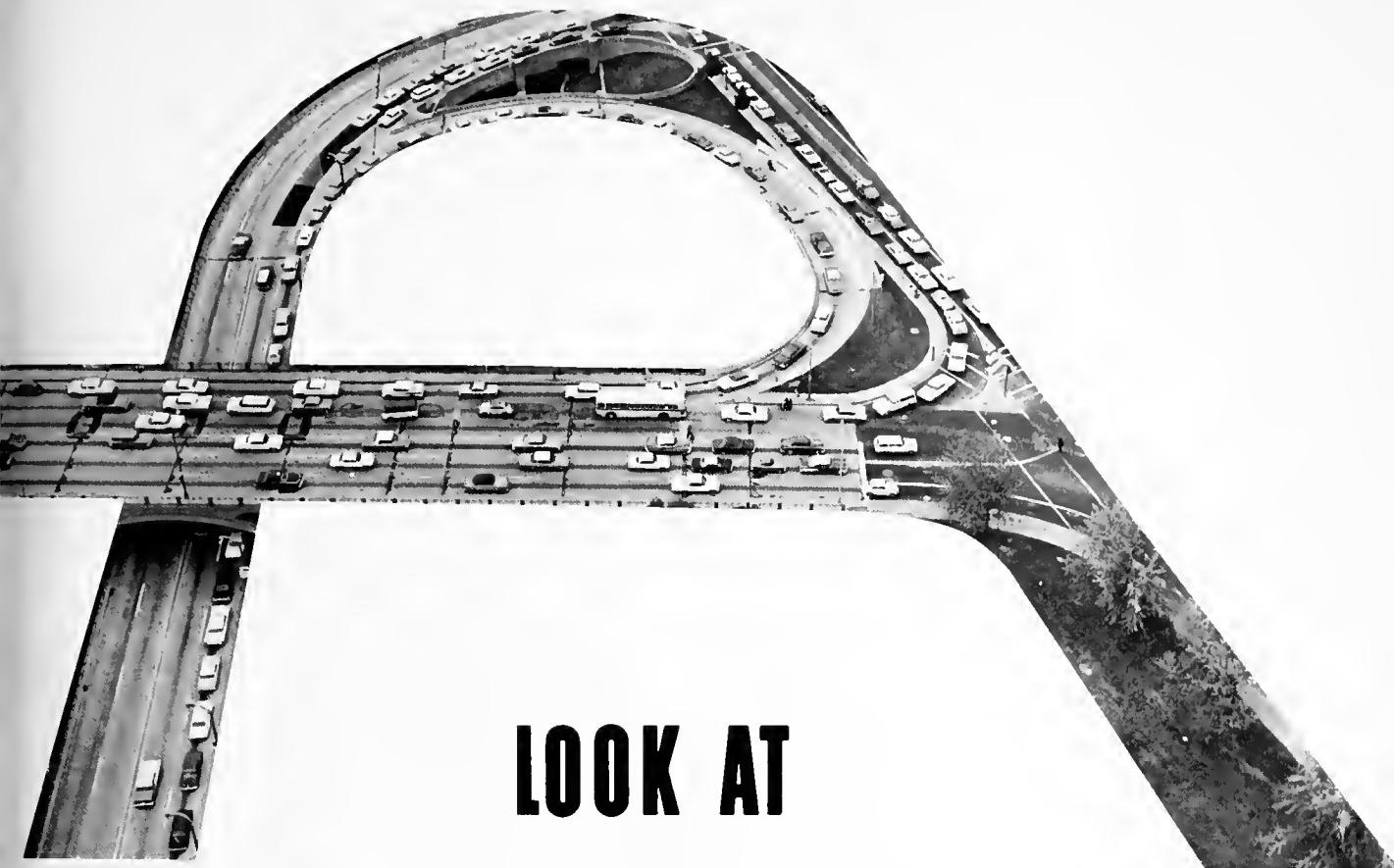
Why should we make our boys and girls learn to spell some words the North of England way, some the South of England way, some the French way, some the German way, some the Greek way, some the Spanish way, and a few a New American way? Why must they learn to write "write" with a "w" we haven't spoken since Anglo-Saxon times and "right" with a "gh" we stopped gargling many centuries ago?

Children of illiterate Italian peasants learn to read in two years, and children in Italy, Spain, and Germany don't have to study spelling at all, because almost all their words are spelled just as they are spoken. But in America children from cultured families must still struggle with spelling in sixth grade; many college graduates still can't spell; and millions of dropouts in the slums quit school because they still find English reading too hard in the 10th and 11th grades.

Since World War II Japan has made its language easy to read and write by switching from pictograms to phonetics, thereby leaving English and Chinese the only major languages with thousands of common words written with pictograms that have little to do with how the word is spoken.

So we think it is high time educators got together to do something about the obvious answer to "Why Can't Johnny Read?"

Johnny can't read because English (which may well be the world's easiest language to speak) is the world's hardest language to read and write, and our schools are wasting billions of dollars a year teaching a reading and spelling anachronism that should have been modernized and rationalized 150 years ago when Noah Webster sought in vain to do it.



# URBAN TRANSPORTATION

BY ARDEE AMES

*Reprinted from*

**nation's cities.**

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# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES

City Building, 1612 K Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20006

The National League of Cities, formerly the American Municipal Association, is a federation linking 45 state leagues of municipalities. As such, it represents over 13,000 municipalities. Direct membership is available to cities with populations of more than 50,000, to state capitals, and to the 10 largest cities in each state.

The annual Congress of Cities is devoted to discussion and adoption of NLC's Declaration of Municipal Policy, a statement of major municipal goals in the United States. This Policy is created in order to focus the assembled power of thousands of municipalities on solutions to problems they have in common. The Congress of Cities is motivated by the belief that concerted action on municipal problems can best be achieved when delegates agree in open meetings on their policies and specific objectives, then move together to achieve these goals.

Other programs and activities of the National League of Cities are: Through its centralized facilities in Washington, D. C., the National League of Cities provides legislative representation for the municipal viewpoint, maintains liaison with the federal departments, and keeps members informed on nationwide activities which affect municipal government. It also maintains an Urban Studies Department, which conducts both immediate and long-range research. These research services are available under contract to governmental, quasi governmental, and private agencies. In addition, the Department maintains an Inquiry Service which answers day-to-day questions from the National League of Cities' members on a wide range of municipal subjects.

**NATION'S CITIES**, the magazine of the National League of Cities, is an illustrated monthly written in non-technical language and keyed to the interests of policy-making municipal officials. It contains indepth coverage of current problems of concern to municipalities. **NATION'S CITIES** goes to over 54,000 officials within the NLC membership as well as to state and federal government officials, civic leaders, educators, and other interested individuals.

Regular and special bulletins, newsletters, and various publications are also provided to members.

The National League of Cities supports the People-to-People Program and develops and administers municipal aspects of the Town Affiliation Program, which numbers 300 United States cities and towns.

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Washington isn't joking.  
Without a planning process  
under way by mid-1965,  
90 major urban areas face . . .



## An End to Highway Aid

By Dee Ames

FROM coast to coast, community protests have been mounting with increasing intensity in recent years as the \$41 billion Interstate Highway program has begun a big way to penetrate the infinitely complex fabric of the nation's urban and metropolitan areas.

Yet urban highways have to be built to meet the mounting flood of traffic. But how? New York's master builder, Robert Moses, flag raised and battle scars glowing, gave his answer in a recent speech, declaring: "When you operate in an overbuilt metropolis you have to hack your way with a meat axe." It takes, he said, "stomach for fighting and a thirst for martyrdom." Others, perhaps with a greater instinct for self-preservation, have been searching for a less bloody approach to building highways in cities.

Recognizing that highways have—in the words of the 1962 Hershey conference report—"massive impact for good or bad upon the structure of the city," most experts have come to believe that the best hope lies in making highways and other forms of transportation a part of the overall plans for the growth and development of the urban community as a whole.

In 1957, Pyke Johnson, now chairman of the Highway Research Board's Department of Urban Transportation Planning, was among the first to declare that "a competent job of highway planning cannot be done in a vacuum" and that "a broad city plan is essential." It was not until 1962 did Congress drive the point home. An amendment to the Highway Act provided that after July 1, 1965, the Secretary of Commerce shall not approve no highway projects in urban areas of more than 50,000 population unless they "are based on a continuing comprehensive transportation planning proc-

ess carried on cooperatively by States and local communities . . ."

Failure to comply with the law would mean a loss of more than aid for the Interstate. It would also spell the end of the 50 per cent matching assistance now available for the ABC system—secondary and primary roads and urban extensions.

This new federal policy represents a major turning point. Some observers view it as "nothing short of revolutionary" in its potential implications for the highway program and the future of the cities and their surrounding suburbs.

It could lead the way to: cutting through deeply entrenched local jealousies, breaking down antagonisms and conflict between local officials and state highway men, minimizing the adverse impact of highways on the community structure, making highways serve and shape land use goals as well as merely meet traffic demands, and transforming urban planning from a sometimes-ivory-tower exercise to new levels of sophistication and effectiveness. It also promises to make public officials much more aware of the hard issues and consequence of actions taken earlier in perhaps blissful ignorance.

### 90 Areas in Doubt

In looking at how the nation's 216 major urban areas that are affected by the law are coming along with the planning process, it appears that most of them have at least made a good start toward meeting its immediate deadline requirements, in many cases because the data-gathering groundwork had been laid some years ago.

But, according to the Bureau of Public Roads, some

Ninety of America's major urbanized areas must put greater emphasis on transportation planning if they are to meet the July 1, 1965, deadline set by the 1962 Federal-Aid Highway Act. Unless they accelerate their planning programs, they may fail to qualify for federal highway aid funds. The following list is based on information supplied to the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads.

ALABAMA Birmingham, Mobile, Gadsden  
ARKANSAS Fort Smith, Pine Bluff, Texarkana\*  
CALIFORNIA Sacramento, San Jose, San Francisco-Oakland  
FLORIDA West Palm Beach, Tampa, Orlando, Ft. Lauderdale-Hollywood  
GEORGIA Augusta, Columbus, Macon, Savannah, Albany

HAWAII Honolulu  
ILLINOIS East St. Louis\*, East Dubuque  
INDIANA Indiana portion of Chicago area, Terre Haute, South Bend, Evansville  
IOWA Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, Sioux City, Waterloo, Dubuque, Council Bluffs\*  
KENTUCKY Covington\*  
LOUISIANA Lafayette, Monroe, Shreveport  
MAINE Lewiston-Auburn  
MASSACHUSETTS Worcester, Pittsfield, Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke, Boston, Brockton, Lawrence-Haverhill, Lowell, Fitchburg-Leominster  
MICHIGAN Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo  
MINNESOTA Duluth  
MISSISSIPPI Jackson  
MISSOURI Kansas City, St. Louis  
NEBRASKA Omaha, South Sioux City  
NEW JERSEY Atlantic City  
NORTH CAROLINA Durham, Raleigh, Winston-Salem  
OHIO Canton, Cincinnati, Hamilton, Columbus, Cleveland, Lorain-Elyria, Lima, Springfield, Steubenville, Toledo, Ironton\*, Ohio portion of Wheeling area\*  
OKLAHOMA Oklahoma City, Lawton  
PENNSYLVANIA Altoona, Harrisburg, Johnstown, Reading  
SOUTH CAROLINA Charleston, Greenville, North Augusta\*, Columbia  
TEXAS Abilene, Harlingen-San Benito, Midland, Odessa, San Angelo, Texarkana\*, Tyler  
WASHINGTON Spokane  
WEST VIRGINIA Huntington, Wheeling, Weirton\*  
WISCONSIN Superior\*

\* Portion of urbanized area also listed under another state.

90 urban areas are going to have to "accelerate their progress" if they want to avoid delays in highway construction after the deadline—now less than a year away.

Progress in the urban areas across the nation varies all the way from none at all to virtually completed studies requiring only a little up-dating. In some areas, like San Francisco, they have the organization for a planning process, but no land use data. In other areas, New York for one, they have been amassing mountains of data, but lack the organizational structure.

What are the requirements imposed by the July 1965 deadline? In brief, they can be summed up by three C's—comprehensive, continuing, and cooperative.

In the first instance, a municipality's master plan will not usually suffice. To be comprehensive, the planning process must embrace both the city and the surrounding suburban communities in the "urbanized area" as defined by the Census Bureau. Nor will a vague sketch plan do the job. In general, a comprehensive planning process must take into account such factors as the economic base of the area, present and future population and land use, travel patterns, transportation facilities, zoning codes, and even social and community values such as parks and historical preservation.

Secondly, the planning must be a continuing process. One-shot plans are out. There must be a means for maintaining current information on changing land use patterns, so that the impact, say, of a major new shopping center on travel patterns can be assessed and plans modified where necessary.

Above all, the planning process must be a cooperative undertaking between the state and local communities involved. This must be backed by a written memorandum of agreement to insure, in the words of the Bureau of Public Roads, that "the planning decisions are reflective of and responsive to both the programs of the State highway department and the needs and desires of the local communities."

#### How Much Progress?

One major source of misunderstanding about the planning process is how much progress must be made to continue qualifying for highway funds after next July. Some state and local officials assumed that the signing of the memorandum of agreement would be sufficient. But as Edward Holmes, director of planning for BPR, stated, "It isn't enough just to have an agreement. The planning itself has to be far enough along that highway projects can be based on it. That's what the law says."

How far is far enough? Except for highways which have already been approved and where funds have been committed or rights of way acquired, all proposed highway projects will have to be based on enough planning data to establish: (1) that the project is compatible with anticipated improvements in other forms of transportation, (2) that due consideration has been given to anticipated land uses in the area immediately affected, (3) that any necessary terminal facilities are not in conflict with anticipated land uses, and (4) that traffic estimates can be made for the high-

way and connecting streets, in sufficient detail to justify the type of facilities and the number of lanes.

"That's a heap of work," commented a leading transportation official in the New York area when he learned of the requirements and envisioned the data on land use, population and travel patterns that would have to be collected in order to make the necessary determinations. "Why, half the urban areas in the country won't be able to qualify if they have to have data necessary to assign traffic," he said.

Others seemed to take the view expressed by another official who said: "Being politically realistic, you don't think anyone is going to allow any major delays in the Interstate program, do you? My guess is that BPR will just turn the screws gradually tighter."

The comment illustrates one of the problems in getting the planning process started—the not uncommon view that no one at the federal level is really taking the law very seriously and that no one is going to be held up by the deadline.

True there are enormous pressures to complete the Interstate system by 1972. But the skeptics have perhaps underestimated the strong support for comprehensive planning by Highway Administrator Rex Whitsiton and other top BPR officials who not only did not resist the idea back in 1962, but actually helped originate it along with some Budget Bureau officials.

BPR takes the position at present that no city need miss the deadline—if it gets going now. The going, however, is not always easy.

#### A Roadblock or Two

A big problem is poor communications. In May, Missouri University held a conference on transportation and general planning, including discussions on the highway requirement. The sponsors hoped to get 400 to 500 people, including key local elected officials, to the conference. About 75 showed up, and only one was an elected official. He was one of the speakers. In Ohio, the division highway engineer has held at least

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*Comprehensive transportation planning programs come in all shapes and sizes, with costs averaging more than a dollar per capita. To help organize such a study, three good sources of information are:*

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- *The National Committee on Urban Transportation's guide, Better Transportation for Your City (1958) supplemented by 17 procedure manuals, offering practical how-to-do-it information.*

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- *A Summary Review of Major Metropolitan Area Transportation studies in the United States, (1962) by Richard Zettel and Richard Carll of the University of California's Institute of Transportation and Traffic Engineering.*

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- *Organizational Procedures of 17 Urban Transportation Studies, (1963) prepared by the AASHO Committee on Urban Transportation Planning.*

13 conferences, but has managed to reach only about half of the local officials concerned.

On the other hand, under Mayor Cavanagh, Detroit—one of the pioneer cities in comprehensive transportation planning—has taken active interest and initiative in the new planning process. But in most cases, it is proving a painstaking and time-consuming task to reach, inform and arouse the people concerned.

Local officials haven't posed all the problems. At the state level, among some "old-line" highway departments, the idea of giving "equal rights" to local communities in highway planning is almost beneath contempt. However, to most departments, which already have more headaches than they can handle, the requirement is just one more long piece of redtape.

As W. F. Babcock of North Carolina, one of the nation's outstanding highway directors, said candidly: "Too often the comment has been made by too many states that their approach to this Federal act will be to do as little as possible or just enough to meet the Federal requirements. It is difficult to conceive of an attitude that could be more disastrous."

A New York official drew a more whimsical picture: "It's like a game of ping pong between the highway departments and BPR. They try to slip their program by. BPR bounces it back, and they try another shot."

But once the state and local officials start buckling down, other problems crop up. They generally fall into two categories: (1) disagreements between local and state officials over the conduct of the study, and (2) squabbles among the many diverse interests within the urban area.

A crucial stage in the planning process is the signing of a cooperative agreement and the development of a prospectus for the study. It is at this point that the eventual outcome of the planning process will in large part be shaped—whether the planning will be genuinely cooperative, genuinely comprehensive and balanced in its outlook, and genuinely representative of all the interests involved.

As might be expected, numerous disagreements have arisen. In Pennsylvania, the highway department drew up a prospectus for all the urban areas and resisted efforts by the local communities to modify or tailor it to their own needs. In Florida, officials of one community are reported to be "fighting like cats and dogs" with the highway department. In a large midwestern city: a dispute between officials over naming an executive director for the study. In some other places, there is a feeling that, in the division of responsibilities proposed, the urban planners will collect all the data and the highway departments will end up calling all the shots. And so it goes.

Within urban areas, especially the large ones with a plethora of local jurisdictions, central cities and surrounding suburbs view each other with mutual suspicion. And the question arises: who is to participate in the planning process? Obviously not all can. BPR, prudently avoiding any arbitrary formulas, takes the position that "we'll just have to play this one by ear."

J. Douglas Carroll, the new director of the Tri-State Transportation Committee, illustrated one facet of the

problem with the comment that "it's a major undertaking just to convene a meeting of our committee members," which totals 13 busy officials from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, plus four representatives of federal agencies.

In the nation's capital, one planning official wondered whether the requirement had opened "a Pandora's box" of competing agencies. In the bureaucratic morass, there are 15 agencies involved in transportation matters alone. Two of them, jockeying for position, rushed to draw up detailed organizational charts for the planning process. Others joined in the act. In an effort to cut through the tangled web, the three highway departments (District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia) set up an *ad hoc* committee to draw up the composition of the permanent organizational structure and the prospectus for the study. Expectations seem good that a workable arrangement will ultimately be found. But not without pain and strain.

In contrast, San Francisco represents a model of organizational tidiness. There the state legislature enacted a law specifying the organization and composition of the planning process. And the sigh of relief has been plainly audible at BPR.

By and large, the financing of the transportation studies, which can run into the millions in the larger areas, is not a critical problem, for both BPR and the Housing and Home Finance Agency are pouring substantial sums into them. Still, with the exception of Boston and one or two other areas, some form of local matching is required. The usual pattern seems to be for the localities to pay for the land use planning and the highway departments to pay for the transportation aspects, both with whatever federal help they can get.

In Ohio, however, localities are expected to assume not only the urban planning costs, but 25 per cent of the transportation costs as well. The state's highway department acknowledged that "local financial difficulties have added to the organizational time needed on most studies" in Ohio. It's true of a number of other hard-pressed areas as well.

### **Money Can't Buy Everything**

But money can't buy everything, and the perennial problem of qualified help is especially acute in these increasingly complex and highly computerized transportation studies. In fact, S. N. Pearman, South Carolina's highway commissioner, commented: "Difficulties which are being experienced at present result chiefly from the scarcity of qualified planning personnel." This view was echoed by the present director of the Charleston County Planning Board, which lost two previous directors and several staff members in the last two years. "We do feel," he said, "that the lack of qualified people will provide a hardship on many areas."

While not an immediate problem, both Holmes and BPR's urban planning chief, G. E. Marple, envisioned difficulties in keeping the planning process going once the big study has been completed. At this point, many of the skilled people depart for new horizons, local

officials become bored, and nobody wants to pay to bill which continues to come in.

In Seattle, the Puget Sound Regional Transportation Study has been going through the problem of transforming the program to an on-going organization. a talk last year, the study's director, John Mladinic said the cities and counties in the region did not feel they could carry the burden of the continuing program budgeted at \$390,000 a year, even if the state highway commission paid 85 per cent of the cost. He also pointed to differences over whether the continuing study should be administered by the highway commission or the Government Conference of local officials, and whether the program should be more oriented to comprehensive planning than to transportation planning.

Another factor, long lurking in the background, has now suddenly burst forth on the scene with enactment of the \$375 million urban mass transportation bill sponsored by Sen. Harrison Williams (D-N.J.). Under the Williams bill, federal grants would be available to build or improve bus, rail, or rapid transit systems in the nation's urban areas. And if a city, previously stalled by lack of funds, should now move ahead with major transit improvements, it could significantly alter the traffic and travel patterns previously estimated.

How much good will the new federal requirements do? One state official from the Atlantic seaboard took a pessimistic view about the possibilities of genuine cooperative planning. Individual municipalities, he said, aren't "the least bit concerned" with the broad regional transportation framework. Most of them, he went on, would agree that there has to be a high standard highway system for the region, "but what they are concerned about is whether to shift the highway 50 or 100 feet in one direction or another, whether to elevate or depress the highway, or whether if possible to shift the highway into the next municipality."

But one seasoned participant of several major transportation studies took the view that the planning would bound to improve highway location decisions. "Even a little effort would be a big improvement," he said. "Of course, you still may get highways located in the path of least resistance for the sake of political expediency. But at least everyone will know what the consequences will be and the alternatives are."

Most observers were generally optimistic about the immediate and potential effects of the law. William Wheaton, director of the University of California's Institute of Urban and Regional Development at Berkeley, said the Act has already had "an important and decisive effect in the Bay Area," adding that such federal incentives "have had a major role in engendering local metropolitan action."

As is the case with all law, the success of the planning process in the urban areas depends largely on the good will and cooperation of those concerned. And in this case, as one San Antonio planning consultant put it in a speech to the American Society of Civil Engineers in May: "We are now to have highway planning wedded to comprehensive land use planning—or so the wedding certificate of the Transportation Act of 1968 says. Whether this is to be a marriage of convenience or true love is yet to be revealed."

# **A Marriage of Love or Convenience?**

**Highway Planning Forces  
Engineers, City Planners,  
Officials To Work Together**

**ArDee Ames**

IT MAY NOT have realized it at the time, but in 1962 the Congress of the United States performed a wedding ceremony. It was a marriage of the highway engineer and the city planner or, more broadly, those concerned with transportation and those concerned with the city.

The wedding ring was in the form of a law requiring that any highway built in major urban areas after July, 1965, be based on a "continuing comprehensive transportation planning process carried on cooperatively by states and local officials."

The fact that the Interstate Highway program is reshaping the face of urban America impelled an effort to harness it through transportation and land use planning so that it might help achieve the development goals of the community as well as speed the motorist more quickly on his way.

Today, virtually all of the 216 major urban areas have initiated some sort of cooperative planning process, bringing the engineer and planner together. The critical question now is whether it is going to prove a marriage of convenience or one of true love.

Despite the declarations of harmony that have emanated periodically from conferences on urban transportation policy, there is no blinking the fact that a lot of bad blood still remains between the city and highway advocates.

This mutual antagonism is not without cause, nor is it likely to disappear with the wave of a federal wand.

San Francisco's revolt against the highway along the Embarcadero, the scenic and colorful water front area, is symbolic of the urbanist's resentment. Almost every city can point to its own "horrible example."

Likewise the highway builder has his own catalogue of complaints—the politicians who criticize for purely political reasons, the local officials and neighborhood groups who are congenitally unable to see beyond their own backyards, the fuzzy-headed planners who come up with schemes costing millions of dollars more, without regard for cost or travel patterns.

But some progress is being made. The planning requirement of the 1962 Highway Act is at least forcing people to sit down together and talk—no mean achievement in itself. The conferences that gather together spokesmen from various points on the transportation spectrum are becoming increasingly forceful and specific in their findings and policy recommendations. Witness the Hershey Conference of 1962, which produced a report that, in the view of *Architectural Forum*, "could transform the nature of the urban freeway."

However, much remains to be done and some fundamental problems still stand in the way of achieving a highway program that truly serves community needs as well as traffic demands.

One problem stems from the rules of the game: federal money goes to the state highway departments, not to the cities. "This puts the cities in a rather delicate bargaining position," said one official. "If they argue too hard, they're liable to argue themselves right out of any highways at all."

In addition, in any showdown with a city, the highway department can always take the position: "If you want to do it your way, that's fine. But you'll have to pay the extra cost involved." Not many cities can afford such independence.

Since this fundamental relationship is not likely to change, it can only be hoped that, through the cooperative planning process, the highway engineers and the city planners will eventually join in genuine teamwork so that community values are "planned in" from the very beginning, thus avoiding later disputes over the cost of this plan as opposed to that plan.

How can this teamwork be achieved? A first step is through the organization of the planning process itself. The decisions taken at this point can significantly affect the end result.

Regardless of differences between localities, some valuable guidelines were outlined in a speech last May by Richard Ives of the Urban Renewal Administration:

1. "The organization should be representative of the agencies and bodies responsible for plan implementation. The best way to achieve compliance with a plan is to include action agencies into the planning process."

2. "The organization should provide a communication channel between the technician and the policy maker. For the technician, the easy solution is to re-

move planning from the interplay of politics and community pressures and to provide himself with relative autonomy. This antiseptic way is greatly wanting."

3. "The organization should neutralize the effects of competing viewpoints so that no single viewpoint is dominant. The selection of representation and staff predetermines the essential outcome of the study. In the area of community development there is no room for dogma. Searches for real answers must begin with an objective framework."

4. "The organization should provide the means to resolve conflicts at the regional bargaining table. The organization must be able to reach out and bring together divergent interests at positions of relative strength and knowledge."

But after the best possible organization is established, what then? Perhaps one of the most serious impediments to building highways so that they help serve and shape community development goals is the frequent absence of any goals, or at least any that have clear community consensus behind them.

J. Douglas Carroll, previously director of the Chicago Area Transportation Study and now executive director of the New York Tri-State study, has occasionally been criticized by some for taking the position that the planner's job is to project present land use trends and build the highways to serve them.

Since, in the view of his critics, present land use trends threaten the livability of the urban areas, Carroll's approach simply compounds the disaster by perpetuating and accelerating those trends.

Carroll's answer, in effect, is that—lacking official land development plans which can be executed by public officials—it would be presumptuous to propose highway systems aimed at producing a particular land use pattern.

Other thoughtful observers are also haunted by the suspicion that the economic, technological, and other forces propelling present land use trends are so great that highways alone could not reverse them, even if it were deemed desirable.

Harmer Davis, director of California University's Institute of Transportation and Traffic Engineering, put it this way: "Transport will no longer be the unique tool for conditioning future growth that it was in a period of relative scarcity of transport."

Be that as it may, certainly the argument for using highways to shape land use according to plans rather than projections would be much stronger if some agreement on regional development goals could be achieved. Few communities have ever really tried.

Even at that, gaining a consensus on the goals is only half the battle. Then comes the task of achieving them. This raises the question of zoning laws and the ability of the urban areas to control the use of land in accordance with the plans.

In a thought-provoking speech to a conference of the American Society of Civil Engineers last May, E. H. Holmes, the Bureau of Public Roads' director of planning, ventured the declaration: "Development of lan-

as planned is essential to the protection of the health, present and future investments in transportation facilities."

But as Holmes bleakly observed: "Means to insure the type and form of community growth that are not generally available in the United States are inadequate and enforcement of even the inadequate measures often breaks down under economic or social pressure."

Clearly, if local officials agree on goals and try to control major land uses, the transportation network can become a tremendously potent tool for shaping a more livable urban environment, and the highway builder will be hard put to resist. In fact, he may realize great long-term savings through assurance that the highway will not be rendered obsolete soon after opening with ribbon-cutting because land use controls are inadequate or non-existent.

Another problem: communication. Whether engineers and planners are grappling with the large region-shaping issues or the more prosaic, but no less important, everyday problems of building highways in cities, they are still plagued by the fact that they do not talk the same language. One is a specialist, armed with the latest computer technology, dealing in the science of exact measurements. The other, a generalist, armed with sketch plans, dealing in the art of urban living.

Inevitably, the effectiveness of the planner in the transportation planning process is tied to his willingness to accept and utilize computer technology to the maximum extent possible. But just as the planner must accept the uses of the computer, the highway engineer must accept its limitations.

"If planning is to be effective and have real purpose," according to Victor Fischer, HHFA's assistant administrator for metropolitan development, "it must take into account not only the tangible data, but also the values of the community that may not be subject to quantification."

"Cold facts and computers," he goes on, "cannot evaluate the destruction by a new freeway of a neighborhood park or of a peaceful suburban environment; they cannot calculate the reaction of the people to a transportation system that violates the intrinsic character of their city; they cannot tell us the impact of 'rational' economic choices on the needs of the young and the old and the poor."

Holmes of BPR aptly describes the dilemma:

"The highway engineer by being able to express the benefits of his improvement in monetary terms and with many thousands of vehicles using a facility daily, can calculate the savings to the users as a result of shortening a route even by a fraction of a mile at a staggering figure over the life of the facility. Should the shorter route destroy certain community values, the city planner finds it difficult to fend off a patent economic gain to the user by resort to the defense of intangible community losses. The planners still are not, and perhaps never will be, able to evaluate community benefits or losses in monetary terms."

Is there a way out of the dilemma? Perhaps so. The best hope seems to lie in the development of some kind of generally accepted rating scale that would convert both highway dollar costs and intangible community values to a point system so that alternative highway locations could be compared systematically to see which one has the best "cost-benefit" ratio in both social and economic sense.

This may not be wildly idealistic: a few efforts have been made in this direction. Perhaps the most elaborate system so far has been devised by a study group appointed by the Minister of Transport in England. Using a total score of 100, the system allots points for such factors as motorist convenience, adequacy of distribu-

tion and parking, separation of pedestrian and vehicle movement, and so forth.

With a carefully worked out and accepted rating system, the engineers and planners, the state officials and the local officials, could all begin talking the same language on a great many issues which now generate such emotion-packed controversy. It would provide an objective yardstick by which to judge whether the highway officials or the urbanists are being unreasonable on specific proposals.

Put another way, it could measurably improve the chances for a marriage of true love between the highway and the city. Until that day, however, this marriage will have an uncomfortable resemblance to a shotgun ceremony. ■

# Where Will All Those New Cars Park

## A Look at Parking Policies Shows Apathy and Blissful Ignorance

ArDee Ames

■ FOR ABOUT a decade after World War II, the municipal air was filled with talk about the "downtown parking crisis." A torrent of words poured forth on the subject, with parking called everything from "the number one headache of almost every automobile driver" to "one of the most important, urgent and difficult problems of American urban life."

Today the torrent has dried to a trickle. Parking is scarcely mentioned in the conferences and literature on current urban problems.

"Come to think of it," said Robert Williams, executive director of the American Institute of Planners, "I haven't seen anything on parking come across my desk in a long time." The last major compendium of information on parking published by the American Automobile Association, for example, was in 1954.

Somewhat the old crisis has passed away. But in the view of some observers, it has been replaced by a new and perhaps more serious one which most cities have not yet recognized.

### The Wonderless Wonder Drug?

Probably one reason for the demise of the post-war crisis atmosphere is that parking no longer seems the "wonder drug" for the ailing downtown that it once did when merchants and city officials first saw suburban shopping centers spring up with their acres of parking.

As Williams put it: "For a while downtown businessmen thought parking was the solution to CBD ills. But they began to realize it was no panacea because adequate parking alone won't insure that people will come downtown to shop. A whole host of other factors are involved—merchandising practices, the appeal of the whole downtown environment, traffic congestion on the streets, and the like. Parking is just one of the many factors affecting the downtown areas."

Dallas, Tex., has had one of the highest ratios of parking to inhabitants of any sizable city in the country, but still it suffered a 2 per cent decline in retail sales in the downtown area between 1948 and 1954, while Cleveland, on the other end of the parking scale, had a 6 per cent increase in the same period.

More important than the changing perspective about the importance of parking was the change in the dimensions of the problem itself.

In the initial post-war period, central cities braced and started building for an expected onslaught of cars, assuming a continuation of the trends that saw auto-

mobile and truck registrations triple from 10,000,000 to 30,000,000 between 1920 and 1940, and a travel pattern that was still oriented to the central city.

But, of course, urban growth patterns went suburban in a massive wave of residential and commercial decentralization. The result was a substantial increase in downtown parking supply and a slowing down the growth rate of downtown parking demand. Today most cities, through public or private efforts, or combination of both, seem to be doing tolerably well in keeping supply abreast of demand.

### Parking—A Crisis in Planning

That's just the problem in the minds of some, who fear that parking may be failing the city even as it succeeds in meeting the "need." The new crisis, as they see it, is the failure to plan and provide parking in relation to transportation and overall development goals of the city. And the greater the success in meeting the "need," based solely on projections of supply and demand, the harder it is to focus attention on the planning problem.

A Budget Bureau official, concerned with metropolitan problems, pinpointed the paradox somewhat facetiously when he said: "Oh, I'd say the cities generally are doing a pretty good job on parking; it's just that they're operating from all the wrong premises."

It does seem clear that poorly conceived parking policies and plans can have serious adverse effects on the city's highway and transit programs, on street congestion, on the convenience and attractiveness of downtown for the pedestrian, and indeed on the number of shoppers who will come there. Conversely, parking—just as highways and transit—can be a potent force in achieving the development goals of a city.

The famous plan for downtown Ft. Worth prepared in 1956 by Victor Gruen provides a good example. In essence, this plan envisioned a revitalized mile-square downtown area free from trucks and cars and filled with bustling, well-landscaped pedestrian malls and plazas. This downtown oasis was to be girded by a depressed highway belt, from which motorists could drive directly into six strategically placed perimeter parking facilities holding 10,000 cars each. Transportation within the core would be either on foot or on slow-moving World's Fair-type shuttles. Freight movement was to be by underground tunnel. The parking plan was obviously a key to achievement of the proposed downtown scheme.



When first unveiled, the plan was enthusiastically praised, not only for the vision of a better future that it gave, but for its "realism" and "workability." But when it came time for enactment of necessary legislation to engage in urban renewal and build the parking facilities, the plan ran head-on into violent and well-organized opposition from private parking operators. Thus Ft. Worth found itself limited by its previously haphazard parking policies when it sought to build its dream city.

An even more dramatic confrontation of the supply and demand versus the planning viewpoints took place in New York, in 1961 when the Traffic Department proposed the construction of 15 new parking facilities in mid-town New York to provide 10,000 more spaces. It required no origin and destination study to demonstrate a "need" for more parking space in the most garage-scarce city in the country. However, the Planning Commission abruptly slammed the door on the idea, declaring that automobiles had played only a negligible role in the development of midtown Manhattan and that new parking facilities would merely siphon off present transit users and attract "not more business travelers, not more shoppers, but more autos."

Of course, in no city are parking issues so starkly posed as in New York. But the need for planning of parking extends down to the smallest of towns, over such questions as curb vs. off-street parking, angle vs. parallel curb parking, and parallel vs. "tandem" curb parking.

### **After the Highways, What?**

Of the major planning issues, one of the most important is the relation of parking to the federal highway program. Prompted by the fact that "far too little serious attention" had been paid to the subject, the University of Michigan's Transportation Institute held a conference on the subject several years ago and pointed out that:

"Unless parking is geared to freeway use, the time-saving and convenience benefits of these expensive roads are seriously reduced. Congestion may be created at critical points of the surface street system, particularly in the central business district."

Yet the haphazardness of parking policies in many cities and the pressure of merchants for parking right next to their store have frequently succeeded in generating perhaps as much traffic congestion on the local streets as the freeway system was designed to reduce.

A study by Matthew Huber, of Yale University's Bureau of Highway Traffic, confirmed something everyone knows: that a lot of drivers do a lot of circling round to find a place to park. In Waterbury and New Haven he found that about 30 per cent of the drivers in both cities passed their destination before they found a place to park. People looking for curb space traveled farther than those seeking a specific parking

lot. In terms of total extra travel a day, he estimated for New Haven that it amounted to about 2,700 extra miles, or the equivalent of adding 4,264 cars to the city streets. And New Haven is a city that has made a considerable effort to relate parking to its freeway program, by placing parking facilities adjacent to the freeway exits.

Boston is also planning a mammoth 5,000-car parking facility at the juncture of the Central Artery and the Massachusetts Turnpike extension. It hopes to ease what promises to be a massive chronic traffic jam when the extension opens, pouring its traffic onto the already overburdened Central Artery running thru the city. Detroit, with its coordination of the Lodge Expressway and parking at Cobo Hall, and the plan to provide 2,000 to 3,000 parking spaces above the proposed Center Leg of the Inner Loop in Washington, provides some other examples. But they are far and few between.

Federal and state highway agencies undoubtedly share some of the blame for the lack of adequate co-ordinated parking and highway planning. S. T. Hitchcock, Deputy Director of Planning for the Bureau of Public Roads, said in a speech two years ago that "highway planners must recognize the fact that if freeways are to be utilized to their full economic potential there must be adequate places to park." Hitchcock said more recently that BPR has helped finance parking studies in some 200 cities. But, compared to the time and effort spent trying to figure out how to move people, the effort by highway departments to figure out what to do when they get there is but a drop in the bucket. Commented F. Houston Wynn, of Wilbur Smith and Associates, a noted transportation consulting firm: "Whether they can continue to maintain this attitude of aloofness remains to be seen."

On the other hand, according to a spokesman for the American Automobile Association, "the cities haven't been exactly beating down the doors of the highway departments for help."

And John McGillis, formerly director of the Detroit Parking Authority and chairman of the American Municipal Association's parking committee, distributes the guilt equally among city officials, traffic engineers, and city planners for viewing parking "as a necessary evil in planning highway and transit facilities and future land use."

### **Grounds for Optimism**

One hopeful development is the comprehensive transportation planning requirement imposed by the 1962 Highway Act for cities over 50,000 population, which includes terminal facilities as one of the ten basic elements of the planning process. But a top planner involved in one of these planning programs in an eastern metropolitan area acknowledged that less



than 1 per cent of a multi-million dollar planning effort would be devoted to parking.

He added: "No, we don't plan to pay too much attention to parking. We're more or less depending on the city planners to do the job in the downtown area. In fact, if we came out with any strong recommendations for control or regulation of parking, people would think we were far out nuts."

Just as important as the highway-parking relationship is the need to coordinate parking and transit plans. This sometimes poses imponderable questions.

Take Boston. Tentative thinking of that city is to shoot for the construction of 40,000 new parking spaces in off-street structures in the core area by 1975, and the state legislature has authorized the issuance of \$20 million worth of bonds for this purpose. The major aim is not so much to enlarge parking in the core area as to rearrange it by eliminating curb and illegal parking spaces, by getting rid of some undesirable parking lots, and by sorting out the all-day from the short-term parkers. Whether the effort to retrench on the amount of unwanted parking spaces will be as successful as the effort to provide the desired new parking is an open question. And behind that lies the question whether the city might not lose more transit riders than it gains from the additional parking. The question is especially critical since Massachusetts this year passed a major \$250 million transit program.

Looking at the other side of this question, the Boston Finance Commission, in a recent report, estimated from a survey it took that 21 per cent, or 1,470 users of the public garages, "would use the MTA if the garage charges were raised to the level of those of the private garages."

The answer of Boston planners seems to be the hope that by improving both parking and transit, they can get more people to come downtown both ways. And William McGrath, transportation coordinator for the Boston Redevelopment Authority, added this practical observation:

"Some people have said that the money shouldn't be spent on parking but on something else instead. But even if there were a better use, the money is only available for parking. It's not for any other use, so there's no incentive not to spend it."

The record is also pretty spotty on the provision of "park-and-ride" facilities adjacent to outlying transit stations to avoid congestion downtown (although cities like Cleveland, Chicago and Philadelphia have scored some notable successes).

Dr. John Kohl, administrator of the Housing Agency's new federal transit program enacted by Congress and a man with experience in both highway and transit planning, commented that the coordination of parking with both was "equally bad," but he thought there were "increasing signs that cities are looking at highways, transit and parking as more of

a package." He said there was growing interest in the "minibus" as a possible shuttle from parking to downtown destinations.

### Shoppers vs. Meter Feeders

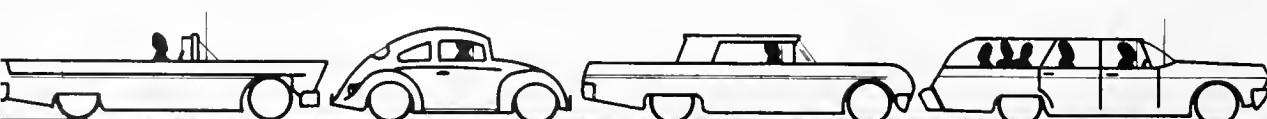
What about the relationship of parking to the goal of increasing the city's accessibility? It seems fair to say that most cities look at parking primarily as means of increasing the number of shoppers downtown thereby stimulating business, increasing jobs and tax revenues and thus the general welfare. However, most parking space is absorbed by all-day parkers with jobs downtown, not shoppers. One study estimates that, in communities of between 250,000 and 500,000 population, shoppers, in terms of space-hours, require only 11 per cent of the space. The larger the city the smaller the percentage of car shoppers. Even in small towns, most of the curb space is occupied by the visiting businessmen and their employees who, in between their trips out to "feed" the meters, complain bitterly about the lack of parking for shoppers.

The trick of course is to prevent the all-day parker from pre-empting all the space for shoppers. And this means the establishment of a rate structure designed to make it attractive for all-day parkers to use fringe space and prohibitive for them to use the premium space aimed at shoppers in the core.

Yet the thought of structuring rates is even more rare than efforts to provide a rational plan for the supply and location of parking. Efforts to control or influence private parking rates are almost unheard of. Even in most municipal downtown parking operations, the rates go down, not up, after the first hour.

Finally, it goes without saying that parking policies, or the lack of them, can have a sizable impact on the attractiveness and convenience of the city. Raw, ugly parking structures, and seedy-looking parking lots are not only eyesores but dead spaces that tend to dissipate the vitality of the downtown. Thousands of unadorned parking meters and confusing parking regulations create visual chaos on most downtown streets. Still Pittsburgh has managed to combine shops, a park and underground garage facilities all in one at Mellon Square. San Francisco has a highly attractive parking facility on Nob Hill. The small seaside community of Rockport, Mass., has bedecked its meters with flowers. But there aren't many cities that can point with similar pride to such achievements.

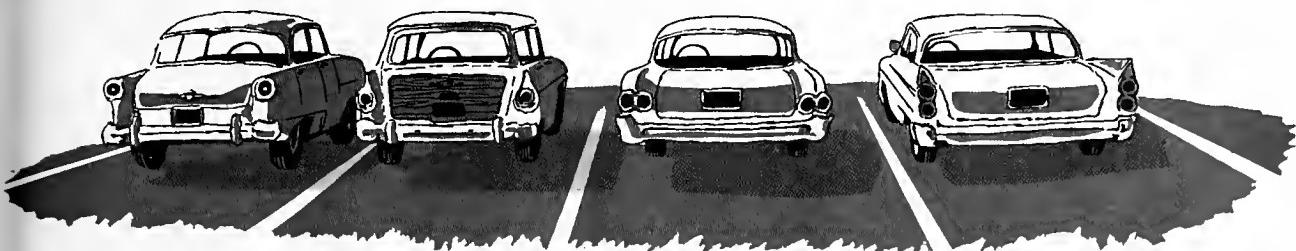
It's a shame because, if parking were planned more closely with transportation and downtown development goals, and if a better understanding could be reached on the proper roles of public and private enterprise in the field, parking might someday truly serve the city as well as the car. Both, however, are pretty big "ifs." Next month, we'll look at some other aspects of the parking situation.



# PARKING: Public vs. Private?



*William Barr, NPA executive secretary, has carried views of private parking operators to hundreds of communities.*



## City Size, Business Attitudes, Influence Decision

■ ARTICULATE William G. Barr, executive director of the National Parking Association, folded his hands on his desk, leaned forward and, with a glance toward a large map of the United States studded with hundreds of colored pins, said: "Let me tell you what I say to the people in all those cities I've been asked to visit."

What he says is illuminating, not only for the earthy advice he gives to smaller cities grappling with parking problems, but also as an indication of the long-standing feud between the advocates of private and municipal parking.

This running conflict is one of the two major problems facing cities that want to develop a rational system of parking facilities. The other is a serious lack of adequate planning to coordinate parking with other transportation and land use developments (see October 1964 NATION'S CITIES).

But even when plans are developed for a city, they usually fall like green soldiers on the battlefield—early victims of the public-private parking war. The result is haphazardly developed parking which some observers fear not only fails to meet the needs of motorists, but also has serious effects on the city's highway, transit and downtown development goals.

The National Parking Association was originally created for the express purpose of opposing municipal parking, and it still devotes great zeal to the cause. Its approach can be boiled down to killing public parking where it can, preventing further expansion where it can't, and wooing cities that are uncommitted. Barr is

NPA's chief missionary and he approaches the job in an engagingly frank and disarming way.

When a city with a parking problem invites Barr to come and discuss the matter, he makes a quick appraisal and, when all the interested parties have been gathered together, he usually begins by suggesting the removal of the street parking meters, pointing out that between 40 and 60 per cent of the spaces are occupied by store owners and their employees who run in and out to feed the meters all day long, thus preempting space for would-be shoppers.

Then he suggests a program of enforcing the law on parking limits by chalking car tires. But he prudently urges that this be preceded by passage of a resolution by the town council, but drawn up by the members of the local retail association, so as to forestall the screams of anguish that would otherwise be directed in the ears of the local constabulary.

The next step is conversion of street parking from single to tandem parking. (It is assumed that the town has long since gotten rid of diagonal parking.) The ordinary curbside parking space is marked off every 22 feet, but nobody ever seems to park exactly where he should and, thus, time required to park is some 34 seconds per car on the average. Tandem parking puts two 18-foot spaces together, front to back, and separates each pair with an 8-foot hatch-marked space, thus giving each car more maneuvering room and reducing parking time in half, to 17 seconds. According to Barr, when Lincoln, Neb., adopted tandem parking, traffic flow was significantly improved and the local officials were delighted with the results.

After these preliminary moves, it is then time to find out whether the city still has a parking problem.

Barr delights in puncturing the pretensions of elaborate professionally-prepared parking studies "which go out and take an origin-destination study and tell you that everyone wants to go to the corner of First and Main, the heart of the town, so you need 500 new parking spaces there, which is obviously utopian."

Instead, he suggests the town get the Boy Scouts ("not the parking operators, nobody'd believe them") to make an available space study by counting the number of street spaces available each hour during the day. The vacancy rate hour-by-hour should then be published on the front pages of the newspapers so housewives will know the best time to find a place to park downtown. As a rule of thumb, Barr says, if the parking spaces are more than 85 per cent filled, the town has a parking problem. It needs off-street parking. But the off-street parking has to be properly situated "because while people might walk 900 feet from their car to a shopping center that is in their line of sight, they might not walk 300 feet from a parking space to a downtown store that's around the corner and out of sight."

What about the municipal parking lots that many towns have provided? In Barr's opinion, there are two things wrong. First, most cities "look for the cheapest land and usually end up near the slummy part of town, too far from the shopping area." Second, the municipal lots are usually metered and "that's the worst conceivable way to handle it." If the lot is conveniently located, it's usually all filled by 9 a.m. by the meter-feeders.

In addition, those shoppers who can find space get irritated because often they don't have the right change. "And how many times," Barr asks the businessmen in his audience, "have you lost a sale because the little woman says, 'I have to go, my meter's up.'?"

The solution? Get rid of the meters and install a ticket system. It would make the shoppers a lot happier, and "there are lots of retired people who would make good attendants." The rates could also be set to discourage excessive numbers of all-day parkers.

Then Barr appeals to the city's self-interest, pointing out (1) that a municipal parking lot is land off the tax roll, (2) that the sale of revenue bonds for parking usually requires the pledge of meter revenues, which is money lost to the general fund, and (3) the shoppers have to pay for their parking, which they usually resent in smaller towns.

As an alternative, Barr suggests that the city lease the land to a private operator at a rent necessary to pay off the revenue bonds, and that the operator get the merchandise to create a validation or "park-and-shop" plan. Such an arrangement would "get the monkey off the city's back" and also provide "free" parking for shoppers. Validation plans also have the indirect value, in Barr's view, of establishing the principle that the cost and responsibility for parking should be borne by private enterprise, not the city.

Barr describes another interesting application of the leasing principle in cities that have an alleyway run-

ning behind the row of stores on the main street and dilapidated buildings on the back side of the alleyways.

Since most of the owners of the dilapidated buildings are looking for "impossibly large profits" from the sale of the property, Barr suggests that the land be leased, the buildings torn down and parking lots provided. With a little remodeling of the rear sides of the main street stores and a little landscaping, the area could be turned into an attractive downtown shopping center. This experiment reportedly has been tried successfully in such places as Elmira, N. Y., Rock Hill, S. C., Knoxville, Tenn., and Tucson, Ariz.

Thus does Barr attempt to lead cities from the cares and burdens of public parking to the path of private enterprise. But despite his personal charm and salesmanship, the road is often a rocky one.

## AMA's Parking Policy

• Parking is primarily a municipal responsibility. For the welfare, safety, and convenience of its citizens, and to insure its own successful future, each municipality must accept the responsibility for definite action which will result in the provision of adequate permanent parking facilities at reasonable rates.

• In congested areas, properly designated, located, and operated off-street parking facilities are traffic reservoirs and are indispensable parts of street systems. For the welfare, safety, and convenience of its citizens, each municipality should determine basic parking policies and should do such things as may be necessary to carry out these policies, which may include the planning, financing, construction, operation and regulation of off-street facilities as a legitimate, expected and necessary public service.

• Municipal programs should be developed on an overall city-wide basis, utilizing all of the planning and traffic resources of the community. Insofar as possible, these programs should adopt, or adapt to, a principle whereby municipal on-street and off-street parking is combined in planning, financing, administration, and public education.

• Parking facilities should be considered and recognized as essential elements of the urban transportation system; furthermore, these facilities must be provided in a manner that will serve the needs and demands of the automobile oriented public, notwithstanding the special interests of other forms of urban transportation.

Detroit illustrates just how intense the public-private parking war can become. In 1948 the city created a public parking authority and found itself waging lawsuits for eight years until the Michigan Supreme Court finally issued a writ of prohibition against further "nuisance" suits, thus clearing the way for the construction of public parking in the city. "The headaches and heartaches were many," according to the then chairman of the agency, J. D. McGillivray.

But where public parking finally won in Detroit, it still hasn't in Washington, D.C. There, private park-

ng operators, with the help of friendly Congressmen, have consistently beaten back efforts to provide public parking facilities in the downtown area. In fact, they have even gained effective control of the governing board of the District's public parking agency. And in 1962, when the agency began accumulating sufficient funds from meter revenues to begin construction of some off-street parking, a bill was whipped through Congress transferring the agency's funds to the highway department and limiting the agency's activities to parking in fringe areas or beneath freeways. Any other construction would require specific Congressional authorization. Since then, sporadic efforts have been made to develop a working arrangement agreeable to all, but with conspicuous lack of success.

Thus the conflict continues and, in the opinion of a noted transportation and planning consultant, Alan Voorhees, the lines delineating the roles of public and private efforts in parking "are fuzzier than ever."

Voorhees, who recently completed a study of parking in five cities for the Federal City Council in Washington, summarized the pros and cons of the public-private parking controversy this way:

Arguments advanced against private programs are that (1) private parking fails to meet the needs, (2) it sometimes adopts unfair or unsafe practices, (3) it is not coordinated with transportation and downtown plans, and (4) it tends to charge all the traffic will bear. At the same time, public programs have these advantages: (1) an ability to assemble land where needed through the power of eminent domain, (2) an ability to secure more favorable financing, (3) an ability to coordinate with other public programs and make use of such public property as parks for underground garages, and (4) an ability to influence and improve, by example, private parking practices.

Arrayed against public programs are the arguments that they (1) discourage private investment of risk capital in parking, (2) remove property from the tax rolls, (3) compete unfairly with private parking operations, (4) engage in marginal ventures and operate in an unbusinesslike basis, and (5) become bureaucratically entrenched and unresponsive.

Typical of the comments against municipal parking is the statement of Lyman Wakefield, president of Downtown Auto Park Inc., of Minneapolis, a city strongly oriented to private parking operations: "The minute you come in with a subsidized operation you discourage risk capital."

Supporting this view was O. D. Gay, executive vice president of Minneapolis' Downtown Council, who said: "Our basic attitude is that private enterprise can do it better. With a public program the city would lose tax revenue. Unless the city can show us that they can do it better and cheaper we would oppose a public program."

As for the public parking advocates, their views were perhaps best summed up by a story in the *Wall Street Journal* this summer, reporting that in the early 1950's Barry Goldwater, then a member of the Phoenix city council, opposed the use of parking meter revenues

to develop off-street parking as a form of socialism. Said the article: "Since then, most major retailers, including Goldwater's, have closed their downtown stores and moved to the suburbs. The site of the Goldwater downtown store is now a blacktop parking lot."

The attitudes of public parking advocates range widely in tone and intensity. One Washington-based official familiar with municipal problems, perhaps reflecting the heated sentiments prevalent in the nation's capital, said bitterly: "Parking has been captured by self-seeking interests without conscience and totally without interest in the future or welfare of their city."

William Finley, formerly executive director of the National Capital Planning Commission and now vice president of Community Research and Development, Inc. of Baltimore, was also outspoken in support of public parking: "In my view, automobile parking in a central city should be considered as a public utility in the full sense of the word, and the emphasis there is on public. . . . Parking cannot be provided as a sheer whim of the economic market or at the convenience of a group of investors. The city's circulation system is too important to be left to the trials and errors of private business." But he added that "public leadership has not really come to grips with parking, so this is not to be construed as a criticism of the business community, which in many cities has attempted to provide these services."

J. D. McGillis, who was formerly chairman of the American Municipal Association's parking committee, reflected the association's official policy that parking is primarily a municipal responsibility with the comment: "The question of municipal parking or private parking as an issue has long since been decided. We have both and we will continue to have both. We need both."

A good many cities take the position expressed by Walter King, coordinator of Los Angeles' Parking Agency who said: "The city should not take over the provision of parking when private enterprise is serving the public adequately." Likewise, Cincinnati, after making a survey of its needs, gave private enterprise two years in which to provide additional parking before embarking on its own program.

Usually the compelling force for city action hinges on the question of economic feasibility. Mayor Charles Iles of Des Moines, Iowa, relates that the state legislature, in its last session, enacted legislation to permit the city to acquire land for parking and enter into a lease with a private developer to build an off-street parking structure. "However," he said, "private industry has shown little interest in this proposal presumably because there is little opportunity to make a profit at existing parking fee levels when it is also necessary to construct a new facility. This has made it necessary for the city to move ahead with its municipal parking program."

Thus, the dilemma seems to be that when you meet the demand for parking, you can't make money, and when you can make money on parking, the demand isn't being met.

In the opinion of Robert Davidson, executive director of the Boston Metropolitan Area Planning

Council, the fact that parking can be a "real money-maker" is the fundamental cause of the conflict between the cities and private parking operators. They don't want cities to do anything to jeopardize their profits.

When pressed by public officials, private parking interests frequently argue that the solution to downtown parking problems is to change the zoning codes, which usually exempt downtown commercial areas from normal parking requirements, and require new buildings to provide parking space on the premises.

The problem is that many new buildings are built on what was previously a parking lot and they rarely put back more parking than they replace. And the new space isn't sufficient to meet the needs of the occupants of the building, much less the additional traffic it will generate. As one leading parking operator in Washington was reported to have said in connection with an office building he was developing: "We plan to provide parking for the prime tenants. To hell with the ribbon clerks."

One planning official calculated that if a building with 100,000 square feet were built on a 10,000 square foot lot and contained 500 employees, half of whom came by automobile, it would require 5 levels of parking to handle the need. Hardly feasible.

Another serious bone of contention between cities and private parking operators is urban renewal. Because of the frequently long period between clearance and redevelopment many cities have provided interim parking in the demolished area at little or no cost. Many cities have also eased the financial burden

of urban renewal by building public parking facilities and claiming the cost as a non-cash credit, as part of their share of the project's net cost.

Angered by what they consider extremely unfair competition (a view with which some federal officials agree), private parking operators have decided to go to the very source of the "evil" and are among the forefront of the opponents of the entire urban renewal program.

It is this kind of wholesale, all-out opposition over a program dear to the hearts of most city officials that makes the parking war so intense.

Yet, paradoxically, there may be in the principles of the urban renewal program a basis for a reconciliation of the cities and private parking interests. In urban renewal, private developers are given financial incentives to carry out the redevelopment of blighted areas in accordance with comprehensive plans for the area. It is based on a recognition of the role and financial interests of private enterprise. The *quid pro quo* is the recognition and acceptance on the part of private enterprise of the public purposes and plans of the city.

Perhaps a similar approach to parking could be worked out that would recognize the financial interests of private operators and provide an incentive for the carrying out of comprehensive parking plans for a city.

Certainly unless some reconciliation can be achieved, the question of parking is likely to remain the pitched battle it has been—to the serious detriment of motorists and city dwellers alike.

New Haven's famous urban renewal program closely involves streets and parking facilities.



# URBAN RENEWAL AND TRANSPORTATION

RDEE AMES

LIKE PARIS' 19th-century Baron Haussman and London's 17th-century Christopher Wren, today's urban renewal and highway administrators are reshaping the face of America's urban landscape on a grand and long-lasting scale. This, despite a vastly more intricate set of problems.

As a result, many authorities echo the comments of Urban Renewal Commissioner William Slayton who has said: "There must be complete coordination between those who plan for highways and other traffic elements and those who plan for urban renewal. In fact, the very future of our cities rests upon such coordinated efforts."

What is really meant by coordination? What is the goal? And how are the cities doing? In its simplest form, coordination can be said to mean that when you have an urban renewal project, especially downtown, and a highway running through or next to it, you probably ought to provide some access between the two. At this level, it can be safely said that most cities have provided the necessary coordination when highway and urban renewal projects happen to be programmed for the same areas.

But there are other possible kinds of coordination. One of them is "the proposition that land development and transportation projects can be conceived, programmed, and carried out together, often with much greater effect than the sum of the two individual unrelated efforts," as Rodney Engelen of Barton-Aschman Associates put it in a *Journal of Housing* article.

An example of this might be the joint development of a rapid transit line with higher density land uses concentrated around the transit stops rather than scattered indiscriminately throughout the region. The transit line would thus stimulate the desired intensity of land use, and the higher density land use would make for more efficient and successful operation of the transit line. Or a well-planned expressway loop around the CBD might help give it greater identity, divert traffic that is just passing through, make access easier for those who do want to go downtown, and thus stimulate private investment in the area.

Another kind of coordination is possible within the urban renewal program itself. Starting as a program devoted to clearing slums and providing new housing, urban renewal has rapidly evolved into a program whose scope now is nothing less than the complete modernization of the city.

Because of the program's great flexibility, it is possible to engage in transportation "renewal" as well as residential, commercial, or industrial renewal within the project area. Operating on cleared land, street patterns can be rearranged, rights-of-way for expressways can be provided, and generous aid can be obtained for the construction of new streets, underpasses, sidewalks, traffic signals and the like. The renewal program even provides substantial incentive for the construction of parking facilities. And it's not impossible to get urban renewal funds for certain transit improvements.

NEW HAVEN REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY—CHARLES R. SCHULZE



It is this flexibility that led former Commissioner of the Urban Renewal Administration, Richard Steiner, to say in 1959 that "urban renewal, among other things, has given American cities their first chance to reform themselves in response to the realities of the automobile age."

Thus, coordination in all its forms adds up, ultimately, to the goal of achieving 20th century cities served by 20th century traffic and transport systems.

### How Well Are the Cities Doing?

Taking the question of highway and urban renewal coordination, it would have to be said that, at times, both the renewal and highway programs have seemed a little left-handed, not knowing what the other was doing, sometimes undoing the work of the other. But things have improved considerably since 1956 when an earlier Urban Renewal Commissioner, James Follin, was moved to write that "many students of urban affairs are doubtful that coordination will ensue." In fact, however, Norfolk and New Haven are but two of a growing number of cities which have effectively and imaginatively woven their highway and urban renewal programs together. Many cities have taken advantage of the improved accessibility of new highways to re-develop blighted areas along the way, or to shape highway alignments so as to separate incompatible land uses in an urban renewal project.

Robert Barkley, an engineer who formerly coordinated Chattanooga's urban renewal program, cited that city's West Side project as an example of good highway and urban renewal coordination, resulting in a cost "considerably less" than if the two projects had been undertaken separately. A highway running through the 400-acre project was located to form a buffer between the downtown business area and the planned residential area. And, instead of dredging the embankment of the Tennessee River for fill to raise the highway above flood levels, fill was obtained by taking cuts off the top of several hills in the project area. This not only reduced costs, but also substantially increased the amount of usable land in the project, and permitted an improvement in the local street pattern (which had been narrow and discontinuous because of the hilly topography). The street revisions, in turn, improved accessibility to the freeway. Finally, by providing three interchanges, the freeway improved the accessibility to, and marketability of, the central business district.

In a recently published report on the subject, ACTION-Housing, Inc., of Pittsburgh pointed out some other general advantages of highway and renewal coordination—the elimination of severance damages, avoidance of land remnants or a developmental "no-man's" land, and the reduction of locational uncertainties that inhibit private investment decisions.

One of the penalties of failing to coordinate the timing of urban renewal and highway projects is that construction under one program can easily raise land values and thus the acquisition costs when the other program comes along later.



Washington's Southwest Freeway bisects former site. Residences are rising on right; offices on left.

### Some Benefits of Coordination

There are also distinct "bread-and-butter" advantages in undertaking transportation improvements through urban renewal. Cash outlays for the one-third local share required by the urban renewal program can be significantly reduced. Boston, for example, is currently creating a \$200 million Government Center complex in the old Scollay Square area, at a gross project cost of \$48 million. In the process, it is replacing 22 old streets with four major and two minor new ones. A new ramp is being constructed off the adjacent Central Artery expressway, and another one is being modified to serve the project. The ramps will lead to a new \$7 million 2,000-car garage. Another \$3.5 million is being spent to improve subway service in the area. And all of this is being done without the outlay of a single dollar in cash by the city. The renewal agency explains: "The garage is estimated to cost \$7 million—all of which will be creditable toward the city's share of the Government Center project . . . and will be repaid from park revenues."

A West Coast renewal official succinctly put it: "A city's capital improvement program should be carefully studied for improvements that can count as non-cash grants-in-aid in urban renewal projects."

Yet, surprisingly, many cities still put up substantial amounts of cash under the urban renewal program. This may indicate that cities are not providing as many eligible transportation facilities as the inducements of urban renewal financing would make logical. It may also be, as Robert Hazen of the Boston Redevelopment Authority suggested, that cities are drawing their project boundaries too small, so that they get only partial credit for facilities serving a larger area than the project.

### Still Much To Be Desired

Despite all the advantages, some recent evidence tends to cast additional doubt whether many cities have been able to coordinate fully their highway and renew-

programs, or achieve maximum transportation improvements in their urban renewal projects.

In an extensive study published earlier this year, the Institute of Traffic Engineers uncovered these facts from a survey of local urban renewal agencies:

- That traffic engineering agencies had no responsibility for the designation of urban renewal projects, preliminary project planning, or the designation of land uses in any of the cities responding to the survey. They participated in the selection of street plans in only 20 per cent of the urban renewal projects. Their primary participation was in analyzing traffic problems and designing intersections. This suggests that not many urban renewal and transportation projects have been jointly conceived and carried out.
- That in residential, residential-commercial, and commercial renewal projects, the existing streets were used without modification about 50 to 60 per cent of the time. (Only in industrial and mixed use projects were new or modified streets fully used.)
- That, while 70 per cent of the surveyed projects included or were adjacent to freeways, the location of the freeways had only "minor" influence in the choice of land uses for the renewal projects.
- That only 10 per cent of the projects provided higher geometric design standards (for speed, number of lanes, right-of-way width, parking lane width, etc.) than existed throughout the urban area.

This last point assumes significance in the light of the comments made by the noted transportation consultant, Wilbur S. Smith, who wrote in *Traffic Quarterly*:

"Cities have been trying to fight back (against suburban competition) to preserve, rejuvenate and strengthen the CBD. Efforts are being made to increase attractiveness, add more drawing power, and improve convenience. Urban renewal is aimed at greater attraction . . . (but) a tremendous gain in attractiveness cannot achieve much if congestion and parking difficulties remain."

"To rebuild a section now, at no better levels of traffic performance, would merely result ultimately in rebuilt central business district essentially no better than the old one, and it would again suffer competitively as it has in the past."

"The level of traffic performance on streets within renewal project should considerably exceed that of the older streets which connect. Then, at least, the new section will have been pegged at a higher level and the objective set of ultimately bringing the other streets to this level. In fact, a renewal project should serve as a stimulant to spearhead other traffic improvements."

Presumably the same principle would apply to parking as an integral part of the traffic system. But on this point, Isadore Candeub, a consultant on many urban renewal projects throughout the country, believes that to eliminate a large number of homes, regardless of their substandard quality, and to replace them with a block-topped parking lot can, oftentimes, not be confined—on a social, economic or political basis."

#### **It's Easier Said Than Done**

Even if one believes that urban renewal ought to set a standard for higher levels of transportation service,

a number of problems arise. For one thing, upgrading traffic levels in an urban renewal project, coupled with the new traffic generated by the project, can throw heavy burdens on surrounding areas. And while the project might serve to stimulate interest in renewing and upgrading those surrounding areas, the time lag between conception of an urban renewal project and completion can be a long one, even as much as a decade.

And where is the money to come from, to upgrade transportation in those surrounding areas if not through the urban renewal process? At the present time, cities can receive generous financial assistance through the urban renewal program for project improvements in the form of streets, sidewalks, traffic signals and the like. But street improvements *outside* the project area are eligible only when the feasibility of the project would otherwise be jeopardized.

This has led local officials to suggest that the urban renewal regulations ought to be broadened with respect to streets connecting, but outside the project, and that local arterial, connector, and distributor streets ought to be made eligible under the 90-10 Interstate highway program, on the grounds that an urban Interstate highway creates great disruption to the local street system.

Another obstacle to the development of area-wide transportation improvements through urban renewal is "projectitis." While many urban renewal projects seem large-scale, they rarely cover more than a small fraction of the city's land area. Limited as they are to blighted areas, they usually look like random splotches on a map. Within each separate project, planning goes on apace, but not always with a view to the over-all development of an improved traffic network.

In an effort to mitigate the ills of "projectitis," the Community Renewal Program was created to analyze urban renewal needs and institute urban renewal programming on a city-wide basis. But only around 100 cities are so far engaged in CRP's, and even then, the CRP's do not get involved in the kind of master planning necessary to guide area-wide transportation improvements that are fully coordinated with land use.

For that reason, the ITE report stressed the importance of a master transportation plan to "serve as a general outline of future metropolitan transportation needs, and relate urban renewal project elements to these needs."

To undertake substantial area-wide traffic and transportation improvements usually involves substantial land clearance. But there is a growing belief that the days of the bulldozer in residential areas—that is, the large-scale clearance projects like the famous Southwest project in Washington—are rapidly coming to an end.

Evidence of the social and political forces at work can be seen in Boston, one of the most active cities in the nation in the urban renewal program. Almost the entire city is blanketed by urban renewal projects, but except for the government center project and a waterfront project (involving no family relocation), present plans call for the conservation and preservation of between 80 and 90 per cent of existing structures. The opportunity for revamping the traffic and transportation network on a major scale will thus be sharply restricted outside of the downtown core areas.

Taking into consideration the restriction of urban renewal to geographically limited and blighted areas, the affliction of "projectitis," the lack of effective area-wide planning, the lack of federal aid for traffic improvements outside project areas, the problem of divided jurisdictions, and the shift in renewal emphasis from clearance to rehabilitation, it seems inevitable then that actual achievement will fall considerably short of

the vision of tomorrow's city as seen in futurama shows and Sunday supplement magazines.

But even though the canvas is turning out smaller than the transportation and renewal painters had originally expected or would like, ruling out the creation of mural-sized masterpieces, it still ought to be possible to add at least some respectable works of art to the gallery of urban achievements.

# THE SEARCH for balanced transportation

Rail and Road Partisans  
are Obscuring the Opportunity  
for Real Solutions

BY RONALD DEE AMES

SAID THE MODERATOR: "Gentlemen, two-thirds of the nation's population live in urban areas. By 1980 we will have 70,000,000 more people, almost all of them located in our great metropolitan complexes. Automobile usage is growing twice as fast as the population. Public transportation riding is declining. The question is: how are we going to handle this problem to achieve the best possible transportation in the best possible urban living environment?"

If addressed to a panel of representative transportation experts, the unanimous answer to this question would undoubtedly be: "We need a balanced approach to our transportation problems." Everyone favors balanced transportation these days. In fact, it would be unthinkable for anyone concerned with his reputation to get up and say: "What we really need is an *unbalanced* approach."

Yet, what is balanced transportation? "It's a god-awful phrase, that's what it is," asserts one academic transportation authority, "for it usually leads to nothing but a polarization of extreme viewpoints between rail and rubber."

This observation is sharply illustrated in the conferences and literature on the subject. It's easy to find arguments to support the view that the cities are being swamped over by highways or that highways are saving the cities by making them more accessible. It is argued endlessly that highways can't meet the rush-hour traffic demand or that transit can't meet the needs of growing suburban areas. And of course everyone knows that highways are heavily subsidized while transit is not. Most of these people wouldn't ride transit even if you paid them. And so the arguments go. Constructive analysis of the subject is about as rare as the polemics are plentiful. A number of critical questions remain. What are



the necessary conditions for the development of balanced transportation? Where is new emphasis in transportation needed? What are the consequences of a given transportation policy on other components of the over-all transportation system and on the life and fabric of the urban environment?

## Wanted: Balanced Money

Definition of a proper transportation balance is difficult because it's so complex: The answer depends on the size, character, density, growth estimates, and future plans of the particular city. Universal solutions are out. But there are some basic conditions: balanced planning and, in a sense, "balanced" money. Many people have argued over the years that transportation planning for urban areas has consistently neglected the role of public transportation. Although Congress in 1962 amended the Highway Act to require a comprehensive planning process for major urban areas, some observers are still concerned that "balance" will not result from comprehensive transportation planning unless the organization of the planning process is "neutralized" so that "no single viewpoint is dominant."

The nub of the problem really is money. Federal Highway Administrator Rex Whitton got to the heart of the matter with this comment on the "often-heard" criticism that urban transportation plans are highway oriented. He told a Senate Committee:

"I feel that this is an unfair charge. It is probably true that the programs as they are emerging, as distinguished from the plans, are highway oriented. The reason is not that the plans are unbalanced, but that the means for implementing the plans favor the highway elements."

A refreshing contrast, this, from the usually strenuous—and basically irrelevant—arguments over whether

highways are subsidized or whether they are self-supporting from user charges. Clearly, from the standpoint of the state or local government, the availability of 90-10 funds from the federal government for highway construction and the absence (until this year) of federal assistance for transit improvements has meant an imbalance in urban transportation financing.

### How Much Rail Transit For Big Cities?

When pressed for more specifics than the concept of balanced planning and balanced financing in the field of urban transportation, most experts come up with this generalized formula:

- For small cities: highways and cars.
- For medium-sized cities: highways and cars plus bus transit.
- For large cities: highways and cars plus buses, and maybe in some cases rail rapid transit.

In the latter case, disputes flourish over just how many cities should have some kind of grade-separated transit system. Virtually everyone at least agrees that existing rail systems ought to be kept and improved.

E. Wilson Campbell, director of the Chicago Area Transportation Study, says that if transit is "forced into oblivion it would be disastrous! The private auto could never handle all the traffic in the Chicago area."

And Douglas Carroll, speaking for New York as director of the Tri-State Transportation Committee, agrees that "if these rail facilities are lost to the existing transportation systems, there will be congestion and significant new investments required elsewhere. I would hope some urban distribution system from rail and transit terminals could be devised to improve the attractiveness and service of the existing rail facilities."

Even the university trio of John Meyer, John Kain and Martin Wohl, who rattled train buffs everywhere with a strongly automobile-and-bus-oriented report prepared in 1962 for the White House, acknowledge in a forthcoming book that in cities which "have rail rapid transit systems in existence, whose capital costs may in large measure be regarded as sunk, the least expensive solution to the transportation problem in these cases almost invariably involves keeping these rail systems in being."

### The Have-Not Cities

When it comes to new rapid transit systems for cities now without them, the division of opinion becomes rather sharp.

Walter McCarter, president of the Institute of Rapid Transit, says: "As a starting point, I think it fair to say that the 23 cities we have with more than 1,000,000 inhabitants will have to have rapid transit sooner or later."

The American Automobile Association, on the other hand, believes that "the current number of American cities in which fixed-rail transit makes economic and transportation sense is between six and ten. A few more might possibly be added to this category in the next several decades."

Meyer, Kain and Wohl take an even more stringent view: "At present, only a handful of American metro-

politan areas seem to have enough rush-hour CO<sub>2</sub> cordon crossings or sufficiently optimistic prospects for the future to justify even serious consideration of elaborate grade-separated transit systems, be they bus or rail. For American cities of moderate size, efficient urban transportation seems most readily obtainable by using private automobiles, complemented by various amounts and types of bus transit using common right-of-ways. . . . In the larger of these middle-sized cities, limited amounts of private right-of-ways for rail transit or buses may even be justified, though a more satisfactory solution in most instances might be to discipline use of high-performance urban highways during commuter hours and give the public transit vehicles priority access."

It should be noted that the Meyer-Kain-Wohl position represents the outlook of the economist. Not only is it difficult to define what is "economic," it is impossible to exclude social, political, and intangible values from the equation. The federal transit aid bill will undoubtedly make many transit projects "economic" that were not previously so. And people may just want a good, modern transit system for their city, as the people of San Francisco indicated when more than 90 per cent of them voted to tax themselves nearly \$80 million for a new rapid transit system.

Advancing a new perspective, Urban Renewal Commissioner William Slayton stated last year: "Public transportation issues have tended to be resolved within the constraint of the capacity of the fare box to pay for the system (and) we regard transit as being justified only after the pattern of development indicates that the necessary economic support for the system will be forthcoming. Our calculations of transit demand are ordinarily based on existing consumer behavior in response to an existing and ordinarily qualitatively poor transit system. I would suggest a need to examine public transportation in terms of new public investment criteria. . . . We should begin to look at the vastly better public transportation systems possible with current technology and to develop techniques of estimating the probable consumer response to their creation."

In this connection, the San Francisco transit system will be instrumental in determining whether the "old" or the "new" perspectives toward transit will prevail. Wolfgang Homburger, of the University of California's Institute of Transportation and Traffic Engineering, for instance, foresees little future rail transit development but adds that the amount might "possibly increase rapidly after 1970 IF the San Francisco system proves to be an outstanding success."

While new technology might alter the picture, the experts have almost unanimously ruled out the possibility of any dramatic technological advances in the field of urban (as opposed to inter-city) transportation. Monorails, ground-effect machines, hydrofoils and helicopters—though appealing—seem destined for very little, if any, application in future urban mass transportation systems.

The controversy over balanced transportation is not limited to the extent of need for rapid transit. There's also the argument whether the form of rapid transit ought to be rail or bus.

In Washington, for example, the National Capital Transportation Agency precipitated (and lost) a bitter, widely publicized fight with the highways advocates over a recommendation for a major rail transit system and a simultaneous reduction in highway construction in the metropolitan area.

At the same time, the Agency was taking on the feisty owner of the local bus company, Roy Chalk, an ardent advocate of both private enterprise and bus solutions to urban transportation problems. He recently unveiled a \$14 million plan for a 31-mile express bus route running over local streets and highways, and featuring deluxe bus equipment, new bus terminals, a downtown tunnel, some bus feeder ramps, and an extension of the downtown Minibus distribution system.

NCTA had originally rejected the idea of a bus rapid transit system for perhaps good, but poorly explained reasons, among them the fact that "there is no example of a bus system that is truly competitive with the private auto."

While the bus-rail controversy is a legitimate one in a number of the larger metropolitan areas, it tends to obscure the fact that for the vast majority of medium and smaller cities, buses are the only feasible form of public transportation. About 75 per cent of all public transportation ridership in the nation is by bus.

#### The Much Maligned Bus

Perhaps the greatest single crime that has been perpetrated against the concept of balanced transportation has been in the neglect of bus transit in the medium and smaller urban areas. Highway supporters have been quick to point out the superior flexibility of bus service over a rail system and the potential for using urban freeways for express service. And the Bureau of Public Roads has repeatedly urged and encouraged greater bus usage on urban highways.

In fact, said BPR's director of planning, E. H. Holmes, reserved lanes for bus use "is reasonable if the usage by bus passengers exceeds the number of persons that would normally be moved in the same period in passenger cars."

While a few cities like St. Louis and New Orleans have developed some imaginative plans for a rapid bus transit system, scarcely a single city has taken any effective action.

There are several reasons for this. In many cities, the private transit operators, conditioned by experience and an attitude of pessimism, are sluggish about the opportunities to exploit the new freeways. In addition, buses are subject to freeway tie-ups the same as cars, and they still have to plow through the same local street congestion once they leave the freeways to distribute passengers in the downtown area. The obvious solution is a limited downtown bus tunnel system connecting with the freeways. But until passage of the transit bill, no federal funds were available for this.

A more serious problem is that "present day expressways are designed, located, and constructed, generally speaking, to accommodate automobiles and trucks other than transit vehicles and their passengers," as an official of the Alameda-Contra Costa Transit District

put it in reply to a survey by the American Transit Association.

Much could undoubtedly be done to improve highway designs to more effectively serve express transit needs (thereby reducing traffic congestion) but city or transit officials have neither insisted on it, nor have state highway departments volunteered much leadership or initiative in the task of moving people and not just vehicles.

It would be interesting to see what would happen if just one medium-sized city got a well-planned freeway network, built a tunnel system for buses in the downtown area, reserved freeway lanes for exclusive bus use during rush hours, provided a large enough fleet of modern buses to circulate widely and collect passengers in the outlying suburban areas, and got an enthusiastic and imaginative transit operator to make it work. It might possibly become the first traffic-jam-free city in the nation.

#### The Strangled Suburbs

For the larger metropolitan areas, however, no such bright hope exists. In fact, a strong argument can be made that neither the highway nor transit advocates have begun to face up to what may well be the most critical transportation problem for these areas in the next 20 or 30 years. This is the suburban transportation problem.

Most of the expected 70,000,000 increase in population by 1980 will take place in the suburbs, with automobile ownership and usage growing at an even faster rate. The central cities are declining in relative importance in a tide of decentralization. So strong is the tide that a Rand Corporation study of the 39 largest metropolitan areas estimates that by 1975 the suburbs will surpass the central cities in total manufacturing, wholesaling and retailing employment. And few experts forecast any reversal of the trends toward decentralization. This must mean profound changes in transportation patterns.

As Senator Harrison Williams of New Jersey, chief sponsor of the federal transit bill, points out:

"Commuter travel from New Jersey into New York is certainly important, for if these people were forced to drive no one would be able to get through the Lincoln Tunnel. But the fact remains that 94 per cent of the travel in northern New Jersey is destined not for New York but within the nine-county region."

"Yet, generally speaking, transit officials are preoccupied almost exclusively with serving the central cities. And highway officials are depending on continued decentralization to keep the problem of automobile travel manageable. No one is really facing up to the mounting and probably massive increases in diffused and criss-crossing suburban travel that seem destined in the years ahead."

Obviously the transit people cannot be blamed for their concern with the central city; it is, and will long remain, the single most important destination for the residents of a large metropolitan area. Nor can the highway builders be faulted for basing their plans on the unchecked trends caused by economic and tech-

nological change. Unfortunately their optimism about the ability of highways and automobiles to serve future suburban growth are sometimes based on misunderstood statistics and some tenuous assumptions. For example, a report by the Automobile Manufacturers Association on urban transportation contains the following statement:

"The 1950 Census listed 157 urbanized regions in the nation. By 1960, these same regions showed an average decline in central-city density from about 7,800 persons per square mile to 5,800. In this same decade, average suburban density declined from about 3,200 to 2,600 per square mile."

One might assume that densities are uniformly declining and that, therefore, transportation will be easier. But in large portions of the metropolitan area—the older established suburban areas—the densities are *increasing*, not decreasing. The overall suburban average is declining only because new development at the fringe is extremely low in density.

There is always the possibility that, with the decentralization of employment, people will begin moving to, or will find themselves nearer, their places of work, thus reducing rush-hour trip lengths. At best, this assumption is uncertain; the scanty evidence so far seems to suggest that people do not tend to change their place of residence when their employment location shifts. Furthermore, the National Association of Homebuilders reports in a study of two large subdivisions in the San Diego area—one containing 8,000

people and the other 25,000—that "less than 10 per cent of the trips made by residents each day were confined to the area," even though they both offered "necessary facilities and services within the subdivisions

Finally, racial discrimination takes its toll, with upper-income suburbanites refusing to live in central cities where they work, and Negro and other minority groups unable to move out to the suburbs where most of the new job opportunities are opening up.

All this adds up to a potentially enormous increase in suburban travel in the next 20 to 30 years. The present circumferential and other highway networks that lace the suburban landscape in the large metropolitan areas are barely able to handle present day rush-hour loads. What will they be like 30 years from now? How long will it be politically possible to keep overlaying new highway networks on the existing ones in well-established and vocal suburban communities? And what will suburban living be like in the end?

If there are any solutions to this problem, they would seem to lie in (1) far better street and highway plans for the present fringes of the metropolitan area; (2) a far more ambitious use of transit for cross-haul and non-downtown travel; and (3) the creation of major "new towns" and the development of bigger suburban sub-centers which could be more adequately served by well-planned highway and transit systems.

It's unlikely, however, that any of these steps will be taken as long as the transportation partisans remain embroiled in their current and highly emotional ideological wars.

In urban areas, costs are high and issues are complex. Yet it is here that LBJ's anti-ugliness drive faces . . .

## HIGHWAY BEAUTY'S BIGGEST OBSTACLES

ARDEE AMES

IN ALMOST LESS time than it takes to scamper to the banks of the Pedernales, the subject of highway beauty has risen from the unmentionable to the unavailable.

It used to be, as Professor George Tobey Jr. of Ohio State University put it, that people "pussy-footed around the term 'esthetics,' under the impression that the use of the term was anathema to highway engineers." Indeed, who would wish to be labeled a "pansy anter"?

Yet today the White House reports it has been "bombed" by mail supporting President Johnson's far-reaching highway beautification program, featuring:

- A directive making landscaping mandatory on all federally-aided interstate, primary and urban highway projects;
- A legislative proposal to spend \$100 million of this year's secondary road funds for scenic, recreation, and esthetic purposes in highway design and development;
- A proposal to give the Commerce Secretary authority to make mandatory the use of 3 per cent annually (about \$105 million in 1966) of all highway funds to acquire land adjacent to highways for the preservation of natural beauty; and
- A proposal for a mandatory program to control advertising and auto junkyards along new highways.

Perhaps from the vantage point of Great Britain, the President's program may seem a bit odd, considering the admiration that was expressed at a 1962 conference of the British Roads Federation over this country's achievements with its parkways.

And such roads as the Taconic Parkway, the Mount Vernon Memorial Drive, the Merritt and Wilbur Cross, the Garden State, Blue Ridge and Natchez Trace parkways, undoubtedly deserve the wide acclaim they have received as examples of what can be done to make driving a genuinely eye-appealing experience.

But highways are not parkways, and for many observers the President's program has come none too soon. Most of them would agree with the assessment of Christopher Tunnard and Boris Pushkarev in their book, *Man-Made America*: "In spite of a number of impressive accomplishments in the United States, one

has to concede that only a small fraction of our freeways have achieved unqualified esthetic distinction. With the exception of parkways, most freeways are still considered a little more than utilitarian travel channels."

Lynn Harriss, executive director of the American Society of Landscape Architects, feels that some states "may be actually retrogressing on design in their head-on rush to complete the system."

Even the chief of the federal highway program, Rex Whitton, intimated that such might be the case in a Bureau memorandum two years ago. He added in a speech last December that "I still see too many roads and structures that look like they were cranked out of a machine."

### WHO CAN AFFORD BEAUTY?

There are probably many reasons for this state of affairs—ranging from a lack of sufficient public interest to the attitude among some "hard-hat" engineers that they are "in the highway business, not the beauty business." Other highway departments may express a genuine concern for design but view it as something to be "tacked on" at the end by some landscape architect, after all the other planning and engineering work has been done.

The overriding problem, of course, is the cost of beauty—which finds itself in constant conflict with the tendency on the part of highway departments to "suck every last ounce of blood they can from the highway dollar" in order to provide maximum mileage, as one official put it.

Observers have noted Germany's feat of developing a handsome-looking *Autobahn* system at a time of stark depression and war preparation. But for all its affluence, the United States has not seemed quite able to find room for the cost of beauty in its multi-billion dollar roadbuilding program.

To make room and turn the Interstate System into a "national monument of enduring beauty," as Tunnard and Pushkarev point out, requires "leadership, taste, and skill" at the national level. Yet it is perhaps indicative that the Bureau of Public Roads, with an estimated \$3.9 billion road program this year, has only three

landscape architects on its Washington staff and none in its regional offices, while the National Park Service, with a \$36 million parkway and park road program, employs a total of 29 landscape architects.

The *New York Times* editorialized recently that "the Federal Government, which pays so much of the nation's highway program, is entitled to call the tune" on behalf of highway beauty. The implication being that it wasn't exercising its right. More likely, however, is that BPR has been calling a cost-conscious tune precisely because it picks up so much of the tab and lives in constant fear of opening a floodgate to more costly highway designs. Nor is the recent upward revision of the estimated cost of the \$41 billion Interstate System by a hefty \$5.8 billion likely to make the "higher priced spreads" in highway design more palatable to BPR or key members of Congress.

Nevertheless, things do seem to be changing, if slowly, for the better.

The California highway department, considered a "bellwether" by some Washington observers, has begun to win over at least some of its critics, and even San Francisco's Mayor John Shelley (where a great highway revolt was staged by citizens) believes it has shown "a real awareness" of design issues. The agency has, for example, issued a memorandum to its field people on the importance of scenic values, as have the Minnesota and Illinois highway departments. Connecticut's highway commissioner Howard Ives has also won wide respect for his leadership on highway design and landscaping. And A. E. Johnson, executive secretary of the American Association of State Highway Officials believes the President's highway beautification program will "enable the state highway departments to do a lot of things they have wanted to, but have not been able to do."

At the federal level, Whitton himself has demonstrated a strong commitment to highway design and esthetics, as evidenced by this statement in a memorandum to his regional and division engineers:

"Make no mistake about it. A pleasing result is a very important element of our highway program. In the final analysis we will be judged by the appearance of our highways as much as by any other factor. Their adequacy and efficiency are likely to be taken for granted by the driving public. They will give no thought to the thickness of pavement underneath their vehicles. . . . They will, however, have a keen sense of the beauty and compatibility of the highways they drive, whether this sense is conscious or subconscious."

Given the evidence, then, of growing concern for design on the part of federal and state highway officials, given the strong mandate from the White House, and hopefully given the money by Congress, some real improvements should be showing up soon in the looks of the highway and rural countryside through which they pass.

The big question mark, however, hangs over the nation's cities and metropolitan areas—where issues of what constitutes good design are still in greatest flux and, more importantly, where it's a matter of big money.

In the country, land is cheap and good design can

sometimes cost less, by following the contours of the land and thereby perhaps easing excavation and landfill costs. In the denser parts of the city, however, costs can range from \$10 to \$20 million a mile, running all the way up to \$109 million for two and one-half miles of expressway proposed for Manhattan.

## PROBLEMS OF URBAN HIGHWAY DESIGN

This lower Manhattan Expressway, incidentally, provides a good illustration of the costs, and one of the issues, involved in urban highway design. The Regional Plan Association of New York believes strongly that the highway ought to be depressed and covered, rather than elevated as presently conceived. In the words of Walter Binger, chairman of the group's transportation committee: "This huge antediluvian monstrosity would stretch more than a mile across Manhattan, casting its dense shadow over the neighborhood." A. E. Johnson pointed out that "the extinct elevated railroads have gone the way of other unlamented fossils."

Unfortunately the price tag for a cut-and-cover expressway would run to about \$150 million, or almost \$50 million more than the elevated route. While it can be argued that an elevated would blight surrounding areas while a covered expressway would increase adjacent property values perhaps sufficiently to offset the additional cost, such logic is not likely to bring much solace to the Bureau of Public Roads which paid the bill, but doesn't cash in on the city's property tax revenue. Because of the large additional cost, it is unlikely that this project (assuming it is built at all) will go down as a landmark of the "new look" in urban highway design.

A better test case can be found in Boston. Last December the then Commissioner of the Department of Public Works, James Fitzgerald, took the unusual step of calling a press conference to unveil a novel design for a 4,200-foot section of the proposed Inner Belt running through a part of the Back Bay Fens, an attractive park area bordered by the Museum of Fine Arts and other cultural and educational institutions.

The proposed design calls for a depressed highway featuring a concrete, T-shaped "umbrella" wide enough to cover the highway but allowing a little light to get in and exhaust fumes out. The cover would be landscaped, right down to the creation of shallow pools simulating the meandering brook now running through the park. The concept reportedly aims at "relieving the raw bleakness of a concrete trough, envisioned for the Back Bay highway in an earlier design."

Indicative of the "new look" in highway circles is the fact that the highway department contracted with the Clarkeson Engineering Co., a firm noted for concern for design, and allowed for the hiring of an architectural consultant. Even more striking was the declaration by Fitzgerald that even if the cost of the design ran into millions, it would be worth it "because we'll have to live with it for perhaps 100 years." He added he would even "carry the fight to Washington if I have to," indicating that the design will involve

bstantially greater, but as yet still undetermined or publicized extra cost.

According to reports, the division engineer for BPR pressed the view that if the increased costs were high, it would be one thing. If they were minimal, BPR might be willing to go along.

And this is why the President's legislative recommendations are of such key importance to cities. His proposal to earmark part of the secondary road funds for "increasing attention to esthetic considerations in highway design and development" could go a long way toward resolving the cost conflicts posed by highway designs tailored to meet the special needs of cities. True, the wording of the President's proposals is a little vague with respect to how much benefit the cities might receive. But it is probably an academic question. The "word" is that the proposal isn't going anywhere. Even if the House Public Works Committee sends it along—which isn't certain—many Congressmen are likely to feel that they still have a few farmers left to get out of the mud," and will thus require full use of the one-third of a billion dollars for secondary road construction. And highway industry attitudes must also be regarded as an eventual factor.

But even assuming someone like the Ford Foundation came to the rescue and provided all the millions required, several design policy issues remain to be solved, apart from such planning questions as whether and where a road should be built.

As indicated, there is the question of elevated vs. depressed freeways. Both Los Angeles and Detroit, the latter by deliberate policy decision, have depressed most of their freeways, and it seems to be generally regarded as the preferable course.

The sparks begin to fly, however, over just how the expressway should be depressed—whether in an "open cut" with a strip of grassy slope or in some sort of tunnel, either fully covered or with a partial cantilevered roof.

#### 'THEY WANT TO BURY US'

Joseph Barnett, BPR's engineering director, put it this way: "What burns me up is that there is a whole group of planners and architects who want to bury the American people. They want to put everybody in tunnels. This is fundamentally wrong, and I'm not talking about cost now. The American people are a people on wheels, and they ought to be able to see the sky and the beautiful country."

To those planners and architects, however, Americans may be a people on wheels, but they are always "passing through." It's the urban dweller who has to live with the expressway day after day. Moreover, they ask, what can motorists see but other cars weaving and whizzing along on the urban expressways.

Another issue concerns the question of the design speed of urban expressways. As spelled out in the official AASHO Policy on Design Standards for the Interstate System, "The design speed in urban areas should be at least 50 miles per hour." One highway official indicated that "there can be no compromise on that point."

But some agree with Arch Winter, former chairman of the Urban Design Committee of the American Institute of Architects, who has asked: "What real difference does it make whether we cross a mile-square downtown district in one minute at sixty miles an hour or two minutes at thirty miles an hour? The small savings in time hardly seems worth the price of the space consumed and the damage done."

On the other hand, John Gibbons of the Automotive Safety Foundation believes it would be "complete nonsense" to materially reduce design speeds in cities. "It just defeats the whole purpose of building the expressways in the first place," he said. "Why build them at all? All you would get would be huge bottlenecks." He added that he did not know of any situations that would warrant reducing design speeds which could not be handled in some other way.

Basically, these specific controversies are part of the broader issue of conflicting interests between the motorists and the urban dweller.

There are some who feel, along with the three M.I.T. professors, Donald Appleyard, Kevin Lynch and John Myer, who wrote in their recently published book, *The View from the Road*, that "The roadside should be a fascinating book to read on the run" and that "one result of the current tendency to depress the urban highway, or to 'buffer' it from the rest of the city fabric by landscaping, may be to reduce the roadside to dull meaninglessness."

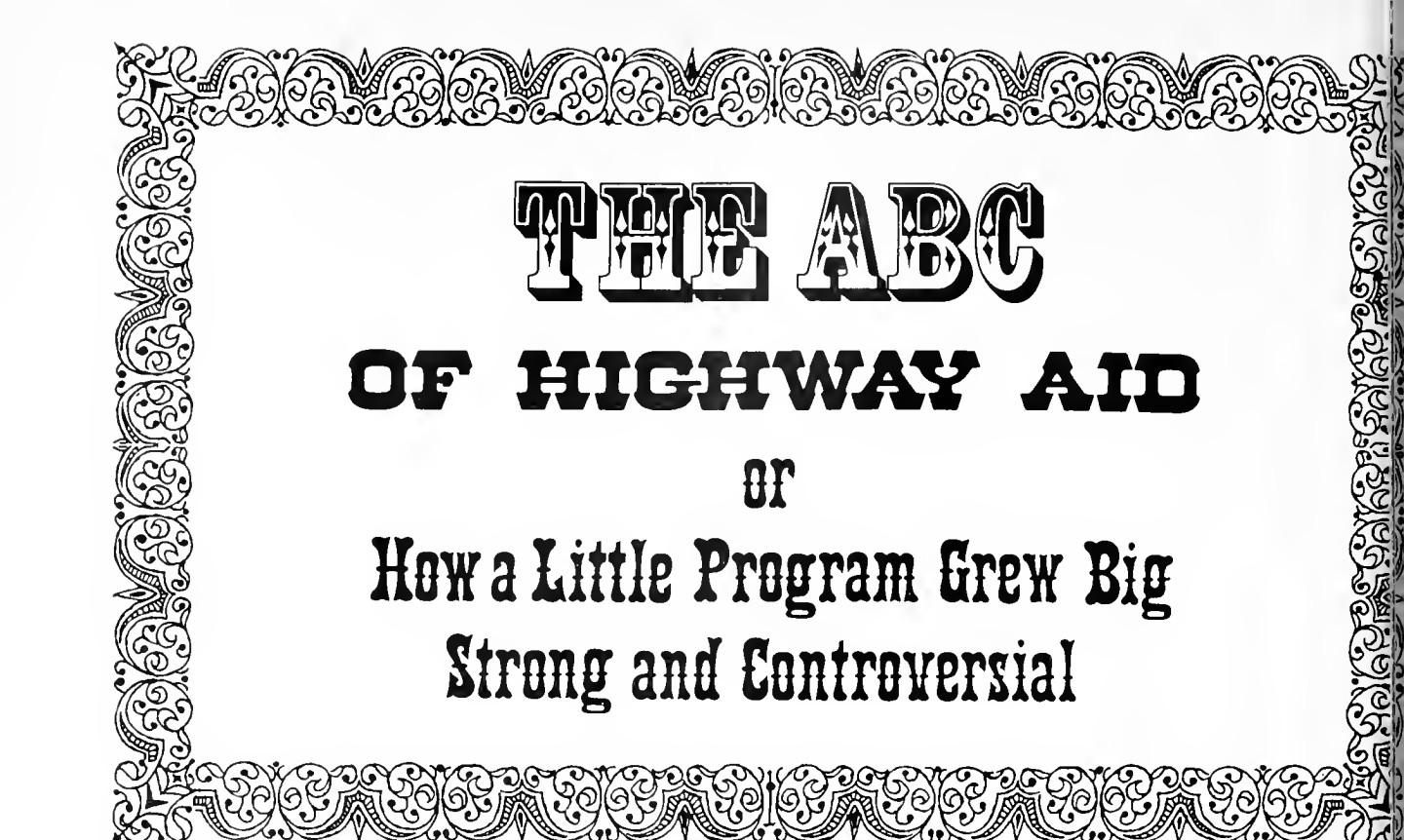
Others agree with Lawrence Halprin, a landscape architect who has developed some imaginative ideas for blending expressways into the San Francisco townscape: "Urban freeways should be condensed and concentrated, not spread out. They should employ urban, not rural esthetics."

Because of these and other design issues, the Hershey Conference on Freeways in the Urban Setting was called in 1962 to try and bury the hatchet among the various warring professional groups. Co-sponsored by the National League of Cities (then known as the American Municipal Association), the conference did come up with a remarkably strong report of general principles which were agreed to by everyone except, unfortunately, the ones who count most—the state highway officials, some of whom reportedly regard the document as being rather "out of balance."

But, said one highway official with a sigh, "You just can never satisfy everybody in the cities."

How true that it was made both clear and understandable by Mayor Shelley when he said: "Recently a very careful, and I think quite sophisticated, design of a proposed freeway was rejected by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors under heavy pressure from a citizenry which . . . seems to be still traumatized by the highway monstrosities of the last decade."

While Congressional approval of the President's highway beautification program may not provide any therapy for the traumas of the past, it might prevent a good many from occurring in the future as the massive highway program continues to probe ever deeper into the sensitive recesses of the urban complex. ■



# THE ABC OF HIGHWAY AID

## OR

### How a Little Program Grew Big Strong and Controversial

ARDEE AMES

■ AT THIS MOMENT the \$46 billion Interstate Highway program, often called "the greatest public works program in the history of the world," stands at mid-point. Just about half of the 41,000 miles are now open to traffic. Actually, however, the Interstate system is much farther advanced than it would appear. Virtually 90 per cent of the system is either complete, under construction, or under way with engineering or right-of-way acquisition. Only 10 per cent remains in preliminary status.

In a word, the Interstate program, though not scheduled for final completion until 1972, is "over the hump." For that reason, those most deeply concerned with roadbuilding are turning more and more to the question—what comes next?

Discussions on this subject have been filling committee rooms and conference halls with increasing intensity for more than a year now. Major efforts are under way to analyze future highway needs and to thrash out the problems, issues and questions concerning the directions national highway policy ought to take in the post-1972 period.

The cities and towns of the nation have no small stake in the outcome. But for municipal officials to participate in the shaping of future highway policy, some understanding of the existing federal-aid programs is important.

#### The Highway Program Today

In the beginning, there was mud. And in 1893 a small Office of Road Inquiry was created in the Department of Agriculture to help get the farmers out

of it, by conducting investigations on roadbuilding methods and disseminating information pertaining thereto.

Today the Commerce Department's Bureau of Public Roads presides over the annual expenditure of nearly \$4 billion of federal funds for highway construction. This is only part of a national expenditure by all levels of government for roadbuilding, maintenance, and policing purposes of approximately \$10 billion each year.

The existing federal-aid programs, and the authorized expenditures for each in fiscal year 1966, are:

- The Interstate system: \$2.8 billion.
- The ABC system (primary and secondary roads and their urban extensions): \$1 billion.
- Other programs (national forest, park, public lands, and Indian reservation roads and highway): \$179 million.

According to the 1962 issue of the Commerce Department's *Highway Statistics*, the amount of mileage designated in urban areas (communities over 5,000 population) by the various federal-aid systems is follows:

Interstate system: 34,361 miles rural; 6,626 urban.  
Primary system: 220,224 miles rural; 24,180 urban.  
Secondary system: 595,863 rural; 16,392 urban.

Rural roads and city streets not on these federal-aid systems bring the U.S. total to some 3,600,000 miles.

In brief, the Interstate highway program, matched on a 90-10 per cent basis, will provide about 1 per cent of the nation's mileage and carry an estimated 2 per cent of the nation's traffic. Designed to link the

ether about 90 per cent of all the cities having populations of 50,000 or more, and to serve traffic demands 0 years hence, it features completely controlled access, an absence of commercial services, and divided roadways of four or more lanes on all but 2,200 miles of two-lane highway in sparsely populated areas.

The system provides some 12,000 interchanges which will undoubtedly serve as magnets for as yet uncontrolled land development practices in the immediate vicinity) which BPR says should not be spaced closer together than an average of two miles in urban areas, four miles in suburban areas, and eight miles in rural areas. The minimum interchange distance is not supposed to be less than one mile in urban areas, and three miles in rural areas. In 1963 the average cost per mile for the Interstate system was \$639,000 in rural areas and \$3,658,000 in urban areas.

The ABC program (the cost of which is shared on a 50-50 matching basis) provides aid for a network that comprises 24 per cent of the nation's total road mileage and serves 48 per cent of all the traffic. Unlike the Interstate system, the ABC program has no fixed target date for completion. It simply provides a steady flow of funds, usually authorized by Congress on a two-year basis, to help build or reconstruct the principal primary and secondary networks, including their extension into the urban areas.

The primary system is designated by the states, subject to BPR approval, and is limited to 7 per cent of the total mileage in the state. But the system can be expanded in 1 per cent increments after a state has provided for the construction and maintenance of at least 90 per cent of its previously approved primary system. The secondary system was designed to form the principal network of farm-to-market, county, township, and mail delivery routes. However, under local pressures motivated by the perhaps universal belief that "the most important road in the world is the one that runs in front of your house," half the funds must be spent on local secondary roads not included in the state's highway system.

#### How the Pie Is Sliced

Of major concern to municipal officials is how the Interstate and ABC funds are apportioned among the states and between the urban and rural areas.

Taking the latter program first, the current \$1 billion ABC program must be first divided, according to this manner: 45 per cent for primary highways, 30 per cent for secondary roads, and 25 per cent for their urban extensions. The states may shift up to 20 per cent of their funds from one category to another, but to date there has been a net transfer of some \$60 million to the primary system, mostly from urban funds.

The funds allotted to each of these three categories are in turn apportioned among the states according to their own separate formulas. Thus the primary funds are distributed according to the following ratio: one-third in a proportion that the land area of the state bears to the land area of all the states, one-third in proportion to the population, and one-third in proportion to the rural mail routes in the state. The secondary funds are similarly apportioned, except that the rural

rather than the total population of the state is used. The urban extension funds are apportioned in the ratio that the state's urban population bears to the urban population of all the states.

To put it another way, it can be said that 75 per cent of the ABC funds (the primary and secondary allotment) is weighted more than two-thirds in favor of the rural states with large land areas. The formula, incidentally, remains unchanged from 1916 when it was first devised and when rural road construction needs were unquestionably of first importance.

The apportionment of funds for the Interstate system is another matter, however, though at the outset the issue was nip-and-tuck. At the present time, funds are apportioned to the states on a "needs" basis. That is, each state is periodically required to estimate (hopefully in a uniform manner) the cost of completing its portion of the designated 41,000-mile system, and the funds are apportioned according to the percentage that the state's cost bears to the total national cost. However, it wasn't always that way. When the program was being debated by Congress in 1956, many were dubious about the accuracy and the uniformity of the cost estimates provided by the states. Members of the Senate Public Works Committee couldn't understand, for example, why it should cost \$1.35 billion, as then estimated, to build 204 miles of Interstate highway in New Jersey, while it would take only \$760 million to build 1,364 miles in Pennsylvania, and said so in their report. The result was a decision to apportion the funds for the first three years in line with the old ABC road formula until better estimates were made.

This decision was of major consequence to a number of states. Richard Zettel, of the University of California's Institute of Transportation and Traffic Engineering, pointing out in a study of the impact of the 1956 federal legislation on California, that on a "needs" basis the state would receive 9.9 per cent of the federal authorization, but only 5.7 per cent under the agreed-upon formula, a difference of nearly \$200 million over the three-year period. "Obviously," he said, "California has a profound interest in having the needs basis become effective for 1960 and later apportionments." Some 17 or 18 other states were similarly disadvantaged at least temporarily by the formula adopted for the first three years, including such states as Connecticut, Florida, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio and Virginia.

But the dispute over the reliability and uniformity of cost estimates as a means of apportioning federal funds tended to obscure an even more fundamental question: what were the criteria that governed the designation of the 41,000 miles of Interstate routes in the first place?

This question received less consideration than one might suppose, probably because the 1956 Highway Act did not give birth to the Interstate system as such; it primarily provided the money with which to build it. It was in 1944 that Congress called for the creation of a 40,000-mile national system of Interstate highways, and the general location of 37,700 miles of that system was agreed to as early as August 1947. Agreement on the remaining 2,300 miles was reached in Sep-

tember 1955. It was also the 1944 Act which directed that the Interstate system should be "so located as to connect by routes, as direct as practicable, the principal metropolitan areas, cities, and industrial centers, to serve the national defense, and to connect at suitable border points with routes of continental importance. . . ."

These criteria had far more influence over the funds each state would receive than the question of how reliable the cost estimates were. But with most of the Interstate system having been located on maps of the United States for nearly a decade, it seemed a little late in 1956 to ask such questions as whether it might be more important to build additional highways in and around the burgeoning metropolitan areas of the nation than, say, between Great Falls and Sweetgrass, Mont., on the Canadian border, or between Bangor, Me., and the town of Houlton on the border of New Brunswick.

These criteria not only produced some capricious results in the allotment of miles and money among the states (whereby Vermont received more miles than New Jersey and almost as much rural mileage as Connecticut and Maryland combined), they also created some striking disparities between inland and coastal cities. Atlanta, for example, because it stands at the intersection of three Interstate routes, will have 118 miles of urban freeways to serve a population of 768,000 in the urbanized area. Miami, on the other hand, because it is linked by only one route from the north, will have but 20 miles of freeways in the urbanized area to serve a population of 852,000.

Two other factors also helped influence the apportionment of funds among the states: the reimbursement issue and the public lands provision governing the federal share of the Interstate program. States which had spent money prior to 1956 to build segments of the Interstate system, or which had built toll roads that were subsequently incorporated into the Interstate system, found that this milage was deducted from their portion of the Interstate total, and their allotment of federal-aid funds correspondingly reduced. Yet no corresponding reduction was made on the gas taxes paid by the motorists of those states—who might frequently find themselves paying for use of toll roads on the Interstate system as well. The affected states, chiefly in the northeast, sought to receive reimbursement (subsequently estimated to cost more than \$6 billion) for the previously built roads incorporated into the Interstate system, but to no avail.

Under another provision of the Highway Act, states with more than 5 per cent of their land area consisting of unappropriated and unreserved public lands and nontaxable Indian lands are eligible for a proportionate increase above the 90 per cent federal share of the cost of the Interstate system, to a maximum of 95 per cent. Some 12 states thus enjoy extra federal shares on both the Interstate and ABC programs: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. Most of these states are also among the beneficiaries of the separate forest and public lands road programs.

Illustrating the effects of the various formulas and

criteria that have shaped the Interstate and ABC road programs it might be noted that actual highway expenditures in 1962, for example, ranged from approximately \$9 per person in Massachusetts and New York and \$11 in New Jersey and Connecticut to \$45 in Nevada, \$62 in Montana and \$99 for each man, woman and child in Wyoming.

These figures tend to show the long-standing rural orientation of the nation's highway program which, in fact, provided no funds at all for urban highway construction for the first quarter of a century of its existence. And it was not until 1944 that Congress, after strong urging by the American Municipal Association (now named the National League of Cities), authorized the first specific funds for highway construction in urban areas.

However, since that time, and especially since 1956, the allocation of federal funds in urban areas has markedly increased. The National League of Cities was a vigorous supporter of the 1956 legislation, basically because it required that the proposed new Interstate system must include *connecting links in urban areas* and because an allocation of funds based on need meant that nearly half the federal funds for the complete Interstate system would be used for building those links as badly needed freeways. About 45 per cent of the Interstate funds, and perhaps as much as 35 or 40 per cent of the ABC funds, will find their way into urban road construction.

Nevertheless, as the National League of Cities pointed out in its 1964 policy statement: "Nearly one-half of the nation's motor travel now occurs on city streets that account for only 10 per cent of total highway mileage." Moreover, it appears that in cities over 100,000 population, almost 70 per cent of the travel by residents takes place in urban streets and highways, according to data compiled in a book packed with facts and valuable insights for municipal officials entitled *Highway Revenue and Expenditure Policy in the United States*, by Philip Burch, published in 1962.

In short, the allocation of federal funds, while improving, still falls far short in relation to actual traffic use and the booming population and automobile growth taking place in the cities, suburbs and towns.

No doubt strong arguments can be made for the way the Interstate and ABC programs were conceived and developed. And certainly it is nice to know that by 1972 the nation will have a transcontinental network of superhighways and a finely laced web of rural roads beyond compare anywhere in the world.

But for purposes of future policy-making, it would seem appropriate to note that 70 per cent of the population is already urban, that virtually all future growth will be urban, that rural population is on the decline, that nearly 80 per cent of all automobile trips are less than 10 miles in length and that the number of people who want to drive from coast to coast without stopping for a single red light is infinitesimal.

It seems fairly clear that in 1972 the cities will still be suffering from massive traffic congestion and financially starved public transportation systems, and that the great need in the post-1972 period will be for improved and balanced transportation in urban areas. ■

## EXCERPTS FROM THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES' 1966 POLICY ON URBAN TRANSPORTATION

### Urban Highway Needs and Financing:

Nearly one-half of the nation's motor travel now occurs on city streets which account for only 10% of total highway mileage. This urban travel is expected to increase by more than 100% over the next two decades while rural highway travel is expected to increase by about 30%.

We recommend that additional miles of the Interstate System be provided by legislation which allocates such increased mileage so a fair and equitable share is devoted to urban areas. When the present Interstate is completed, existing federal highway revenues should be continued to finance the expanded system. We urge that Congress and state governments review highway and major street needs in urban areas and provide an adequate share of highway user revenues to meet these needs.

The proportion of federal annual appropriations for highway construction in urban areas should be substantially increased to provide the additional funds necessary for the construction of an adequate system of urban highways. Secondary and major city streets within the corporate limits of municipalities should be eligible for federal aid in the same proportion that federal aid is available for roads outside cities.

The Secretary of Commerce should complete the national highway needs study presently underway. We favor designation of a federal-aid urban system in addition to the federal and primary, secondary and interstate systems of highways in urban areas. The Congress should authorize a more detailed study to be completed on July 1, 1967 to determine the extent of the need for such an urban system, set standards, and recommend methods of financing. This study should be revised periodically and results thereof reported.

### Urban Mass Transportation:

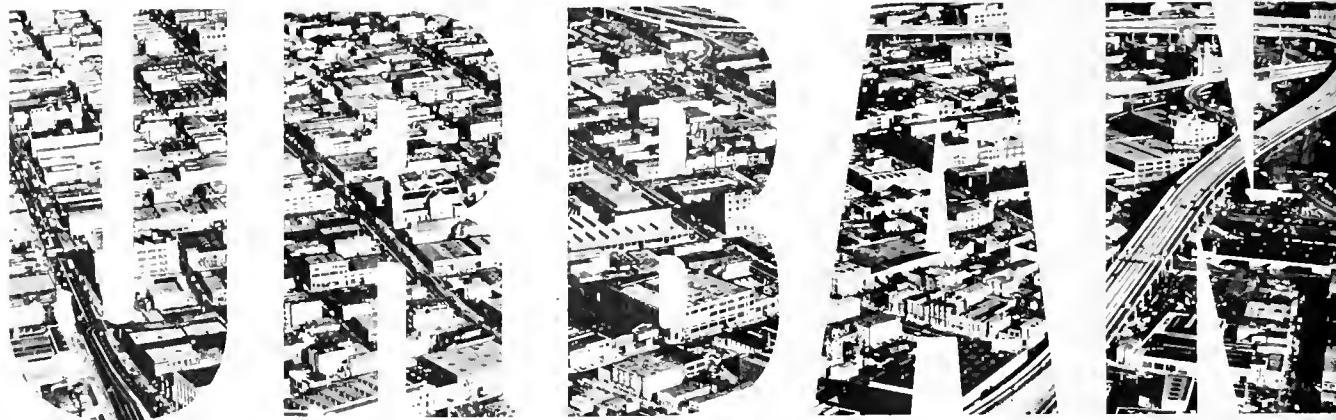
...Mass transportation, in the form of commuter and rail rapid transit in the great urban areas, and the motor bus in the large, medium, and smaller areas, must play a vital part in future urban transportation planning. Unless constructive measures are taken immediately, nearly all urban areas are in danger of losing all or part of their mass transportation facilities. It is clear to the transit operators and to the cities that means must be found immediately to keep this from happening.

Neither the cities nor the mass transportation systems can finance such a program by themselves. We endorse an extension and expansion of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 as offering a means to reverse the deterioration of public transportation and to allow provision of balanced transportation systems.

We endorse the program of federal assistance under the Act to be made available to communities or duly constituted public bodies which have a sound plan for the permanent improvement of commutation or other intracity transportation facilities both publicly and privately owned. We believe that a national policy should be established for a balanced and coordinated transportation system; that federal, state, and local governments should develop equitable tax policies for mass transportation systems; that federal assistance to high speed transit and commuter railroads should not have the effect of increasing the base by which rates are determined nor should any exclusive local or state assistance to such carriers increase the carriers' liability for federal income taxes.

Use of median strips or other parts of highway right-of-way for high speed, mass transit facilities should be eligible for federal participation in cost on urban sections of the federal-aid highway system. Congress is urged to broaden eligibility for such use and state highway departments are urged to broaden their policies to include consideration of mass transit needs and operations in the design of urban highway facilities.

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# DOWNTOWN\*

The Pulse—  
Strong or Weak?

ROBERT L. MORRIS

Just listen to the music of the traffic in the city,  
Linger on the sidewalk where the neon lights are pretty.

How can you lose?

The lights are much brighter there,  
You can forget all your troubles, forget all your cares.

So go DOWNTOWN, things'll be great when you're  
DOWNTOWN.

No finer place, for sure, DOWNTOWN.

Everything's waiting for you—DOWNTOWN\*

■ DOWNTOWN AND THE CITY were once synonymous. In less complicated times, the entire city might be within acceptable walking distance of each of its inhabitants. Residences, factories, and shops were tightly knit into compact communities. The market place was the social as well as the economic center of the area. To a limited degree, some present-day rural communities still function this way. But the true urban areas—from less than 50,000 population to more than 1,000,000—have undergone vast transformations.

While cities have gotten larger, acceptable walking distances have gotten smaller. The trip by Shank's mare still plays a vital role, as we shall see in another article in this series, but the size and complexity of our cities have reduced the importance of downtown to the total region. Yet, in a sense, downtown is still the city. To the non-resident, the identification of an urban area is in its central business district. Ask someone from the suburbs of Chicago where he lives, and he will answer, "In Chicago." And to those who have visited this fine city, but not lived there, Chicago, in all likelihood, is the Loop. Few would take offense with

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such identification, for it is downtown that gives meaning and character to the city. And in real, economic terms, downtown is clearly the single most important part of the city.

## Changing Use

The changing use of downtown land must be apparent to the most casual observer—particularly if he has a good memory. Factories and warehouses, which once occupied large parts of the central business area, have been moving to the suburbs. The colorful city markets, with few exceptions, are about to disappear from downtown. Anyone whose memory extends one third of a century or more can recall when stables greeted—or assaulted—the senses in the heart of the city. Retail trade, which formerly was concentrated downtown, has spread, in clusters, to all parts of the region.

There are many reasons for the changing use of downtown. Probably the three important reasons are:

- (1) Improved transportation;
- (2) Improved technology; and
- (3) Improved data processes.

Examples: (1) the development of the trucking industry and the construction of new highways have relieved factories of their once vital ties to rail lines or ports; (2) refrigeration and frozen food processing have eliminated the need for the daily trip to market; (3) computers permit fine control of management, which can lead to more intense utilization of land than has heretofore been possible. The first two of the preceding examples are widely recognized. The computer revolution is just beginning to be understood, yet it is likely to have the greatest long-range effect on downtown.

In general, those uses which occupied the most land in proportion to the number of people (other than employees) who were attracted to the use have been the ones to leave downtown for suburban sites. Warehouses and factories have relocated from the fringes of the retail core to open land which is conducive to efficient one-story development and large employee parking areas. Furniture stores, which require large display areas, show a trend toward outlying locations.

Downtown retail sales have tended to decline, principally in the largest cities and in the smallest cities. Only the smaller communities, however, appear seriously threatened. A few cities, such as Charlotte, El Paso, and Little Rock, have gone against the trend, increasing their downtown retail sales.

Hotels also have been leaving downtown—except in convention cities—but not because of any attraction to suburbia. As downtown hotels have become obsolete, they have been replaced by the more attractive motel. With 90 per cent of interstate travel taking place in automobiles, many motels have moved out along the highways to intercept the traveler before he reaches downtown. Even in convention cities, motels have made considerable inroads, often designing their facilities to meet the needs of business and professional gatherings. The newest transient facilities combine the best fea-

tures of hotel and motel, blurring the distinction between the two.

Motion picture theaters have left downtown, as they have other parts of the region, victims of television. Of 40 medium to large sized cities, 30 showed a decrease in downtown motion picture theater receipts between 1958 and 1963. However, smaller theaters, often featuring foreign or off-beat movies, appear to be making a comeback in larger cities.

Other uses which have moved out of the center of the larger cities are food stores and churches. In both cases, the trend has been to follow the population out to the suburbs. There are many exceptions, of course. The food stores and churches which remain downtown, as a rule, are designed to serve the entire region, rather than just the more limited close-in residents.

While various uses have been leaving downtown, other uses have moved in. Most notable of these is the office building. The boom in office construction shows no sign of letting up—although it pauses for a breather now and then. To an increasing degree, this is related to the computer revolution. The growing demand for more data, and thus more data processing, is converting many blue collars to white collars. (Unfortunately, they are not the same people who change collars.) With growing automation, the number of square feet of office space per employee is increasing. Even with relatively stable downtown work forces, the demand for office space is likely to increase. The economics of office construction dictate vertical development. Thus sky lines are rising, the area downtown is contracting, and the intensity of land use is increasing. This trend would seem to refute a widely accepted concept that there is a scarcity of central business district land. No city has developed its downtown to its full potential. There is room for vertical growth in every city. Washington, D.C., has a height limit, imposed by the Congress in 1903, which is frequently but erroneously attributed to a determination not to have the Capitol overshadowed. Even with this rigid limitation on development, less than half of the zoning envelope in Washington's central business district has been filled. And much of this space is unused or misused. In the final analysis, the restraint on development is one of transportation, not land.

Other growing downtown uses, in many cities, which are related to the need for offices, are professional space (for doctors, lawyers, architects, engineers) and government space. The growth of local government is exceeding that of the federal government, and the space needs increase accordingly. The demand for professional services is also increasing rapidly. Many doctors find that offices in medical centers, close to their associates, are most desirable. Lawyers frequently seek space close to the courts. Architects and engineers often want to be close to their clients, the downtown builders.

Despite the continuing outward residential movement, many cities are experiencing a reverse flow. The demand for in-city apartments is increasing, particularly among families without children. A continuation of this demand could have an important effect on retail sales and on other land uses in downtown.



*Worn out uses on the fringes of downtown.*

While the large consumers of space are moving to the suburbs, and the more intensive space users are growing in downtown, many traditional activities continue to play their vital roles in the life of downtown. Indeed, the traditional activities are the identifying marks of the central city. Downtown connotes, in the average mind, neither industry nor offices, but rather shops of all kinds, and perhaps entertainment. Although offices use the greatest portion of downtown floor space, to the pedestrian this is not readily apparent. The pedestrian's world exists from two feet to eight feet above the sidewalk. He rarely notices the ground itself, and seldom looks above the first floor. Office use spreads vertically, while the pedestrian's eye remains horizontal. Many office buildings have retail use on the ground floor, intensifying the image of downtown as primarily a shopping place.

A traditional function of the central city is banking. Credit, and the flow of money or its equivalent, is the life blood of civilization. As the epitome of civiliza-

*The market: a traditional downtown use which is now disappearing.*



tion, the city is the domain of commercial banks, credit houses, savings and loan associations, and mortgage banks. Many of these institutions have sent branches out to customers in the suburbs, but their roots are firmly planted downtown, in the heart of commercial activity.

An important feature of downtown is the availability of cheap space—on the second and third floors of older buildings—accessible to large numbers of people. Here are found many of the uses that make downtown unique: camera repair shops, wholesale-retail jewelers, musical instrument services, specialty shops, and specialized schools. The larger the city, the greater will be the variety of such services.

### **Land Use Relationships**

There is a definite order to the use of land in downtown. It is not by accident that shoe stores are often concentrated in a few blocks or that department stores frequently cluster about one or two intersections. The use of land is related to the value of the land, which in turn depends upon the number of pedestrians who walk past the site.

It is important to note that the value is related to the number of pedestrians. Many businessmen still believe that there is value in large numbers of automobiles driving past the store. This is true only when there is parking space in front, or when the establishment is designed for drive-in business.

All other things being equal (which they rarely are), those uses which can afford to pay the highest rent—department stores, more expensive apparel shops, good jewelry stores—cluster around the center of pedestrian activity, the so-called 100 per cent corner. Stores with very high sales rates, in terms of dollars per square foot of floor space, can exist in one or two story buildings in the high rent area. As the sales rate declines, the building must rise to provide the selling space which will produce the income to meet the land rent (plus the cost of the building). Every businessman who deals with the public would like to be located at the 100 per cent corner. The income which the merchandise produces determines who gets the choicest spot, and the lower rent payers are distributed proportionally from that spot.

Although it is always a factor, rent paying ability is not the only criterion in site selection. Restaurants need to be close to employment centers or to hotels. Hotels need to be near offices, where many transient guests will conduct their business, but the hotels cannot function well too close to the congestion of the retail area. Specialized office buildings should be located close to the center of their specialization: law offices near the courts; medical offices near a hospital; shipping and transportation offices near a port. On the tawdry side, pawn shops, cheap restaurants and rooming houses, burlesque theaters and discount clothing stores are found in close proximity in the old, worn-out part of downtown.

There are few functions of a city which are not found downtown. From the full range of retail services in the center, beyond the offices which tend to surround the retail core, out to the fringe of downtown with

automobile sales, supermarkets, gasoline stations, and rooming houses—everything can be found downtown. What is more important than the range of functions, however, is the interaction among these functions. Downtown is the marketplace of old, but it has outgrown the range of the pedestrian. Downtown is where goods and ideas are exchanged. For satisfactory exchange, downtown must be functional; the various parts must work together without interference. Yet, certain functions must interfere at different times. If night life is important to a downtown—and this would normally be true in a city that wishes to attract tourists—the night spots are “dead” in the daytime and thus intrude on daytime activities. Night attractions are generally removed from the retail core, yet they must be close to downtown restaurants and other visitor attractions. Churches may also interfere with the normal functions of the marketplace because of inactive frontages. Yet, churches in their own way, can be real assets to the central city. After all, what would New York's Fifth Avenue be without St. Patrick's?

### Downtown vs. Shopping Centers

Many people, noting the burgeoning shopping centers and the relative declines in downtown retail sales, express pessimism about the future of the central city. Others claim there is no competition between downtown and the suburban centers, that each serves a different function. There would seem to be error in both viewpoints. In many cities, particularly the larger ones, the aggregate square footage of retail space in suburban centers exceeds that of downtown. Yet the center city will almost invariably have several times the square footage of the largest single shopping center. In numbers of stores, sizes of stores, and ranges of merchandise, the shopping center is nowhere near the equal of downtown. Furthermore, downtown will always be accessible to more people than will any single shopping center. A ring with a radius of 15 to 30 minutes driving time from downtown will include the densest residential areas.

Shopping centers are built near the fringe of urban development. A ring of the same size around the subur-

ban center will have sparse development at best in half of the circle. Eventually the growing region will reach beyond the center and fill in the open spaces. By that time, however, the suburban center will be cramped for space, experiencing a parking shortage and many of the problems of downtown. And by then, new shopping centers will be springing up on the new fringes of the region.

Each shopping center competes with every other center and with downtown for the consumer's dollar. Although the suburban centers and downtown have basically different markets, there is some overlap. The amount of overlap can be increased by unique services, by promotional devices, and by improved accessibility. A specialty food store, Safeway International in downtown Washington, D.C., draws customers from far beyond the metropolitan area, competing successfully with outlying supermarkets in the sale of exotic foods as well as high quality domestic consumables.

Downtown's employment concentration is a distinct advantage to the retail core. A large percentage of center city shopping comes from employees, at lunch time and after work. A growing downtown employment or, more important, a growing downtown payroll, will result in increased downtown sales.

As already noted, occupants of inexpensive space provide unique services in the center city. Downtown also provides the other extreme—very expensive space. Shopping center space falls between these extremes. It is for this reason that the downtowns of smaller cities are most threatened by shopping centers. For the small downtown cannot provide the services that come with very high and very low rents, yet it has all the traditional downtown problems: congestion, inadequate parking, inadequate selling space, and obsolete buildings. A new shopping center on the edge of a small town can overcome all of these disadvantages and be equally accessible to the town's population. As a rule, the small downtown does not even have the advantage of mass transit service.

Although downtown is often compared with shopping centers, contrasts may be more appropriate than comparisons. Modern shopping center design emphasizes the country setting: long low lines with trees, shrubbery, flowers, and fountains. A calm atmosphere prevails. Downtown, on the other hand, represents man's triumph over nature. Steel, glass, and concrete are the dominant materials. The lines are vertical. The air is full of busyness. Downtown can be, and often is, an exciting place to be. Excitement in a shopping center consists of a small child's finger stuck in a door (whereupon that calm atmosphere ceases to prevail). The attempt by some planners to introduce suburban elements into downtown would seem of dubious merit. Downtown's pedestrians deserve better treatment than they usually receive, but, as we shall see in the third article, the treatment should be appropriate with the setting.

Downtown is many things to many people. Everything that is found downtown might be found elsewhere. But only in the center city can they work together in a unique, complex way, to serve the entire region. After all, for every city there is only one downtown. ■

**NEXT MONTH: Transportation Downtown**

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*Robert L. Morris is a registered professional engineer in New York and Maryland and a member of the Maryland bar. He has been head of the master plan section of the Department of Planning and acting assistant commissioner of transit and traffic in Baltimore. For seven years he was senior transportation planner for Downtown Progress, Inc., a private group in Washington, D.C., where he helped develop the popular Minibus concept. Currently he is vice president and associate with Alan M. Voorhees & Associates, Inc., a transportation and planning consultant firm.*





The Minibus has proved a boon to downtown transit's need for shoppers' loop service. The vehicles are used in Washington (above) and many other U.S. cities.

## TRANSPORTATION:

# Downtown's Nervous System

Various Modes of Travel  
Must Be Meshed  
To Provide Flexibility  
For Growth and Change

ROBERT L. MORRIS

■ THE PROPHECY of Downtown America choking to death in its own traffic has been made many times. Not infrequently has some amateur traffic engineer surveyed central business district congestion, observed the growth rate in American automobile ownership and the decline in mass transit use, and then forecast the day of the ultimate traffic jam. At the appointed time, all traffic supposedly would come to a halt because all streets would be completely filled with vehicles.

Such predictions are certainly not new. It is likely that they even preceded the automobile. Old photographs from the turn of the century portray a bewildering clutter of horse drawn vehicles and streetcars that scarcely leave room for a pedestrian to cross the street. Actually, in most central city areas, traffic moves better today than it did 30 years ago—in spite of fantastic increases in automobile usage. The reason for this paradox is that improved traffic engineering

techniques have increased street capacities at a faster rate than the growing number of cars have been able to fill those capacities. Perhaps there is a limit to the number of tricks up the sleeve of the traffic engineer. Yet there are few, if any, downtowns which have taken full advantage of the bag of tricks now available.

Lest the foregoing comments sound too Pollyannish, one should hasten to add that improved circulation is essential for a viable downtown to meet the challenges of the 1970s. As noted in last month's article, there is real competition for business between the central city and suburban shopping centers. When it comes to transportation in this competition, downtown breaks even at best. On the plus side is accessibility; on the minus side is circulation and parking. Even so, the overall advantage should lie with the center city. Relatively little will be done to enhance the shopping center's accessibility, while much can be done about parking and circulation within downtown.

### **Trucks in Downtown**

Although the automobile is generally visualized when one thinks of traffic problems, the truck is an important part of that problem. It is also a victim of too much traffic. The American Trucking Association boasts that "if you have it, a truck brought it." This is certainly true downtown. Many central business districts could survive without direct automobile access or without mass transit (although not without both). But no downtown could live without truck service.

In spite of its vital role, the truck makes excessive demands on center city streets. There is nearly as much wastefulness in truck usage as there is in automobile usage. A study in 1958 showed that 40 to 60 trucks could deliver the daily goods requirements of Philadelphia's central retail district.\* In theory, all that is needed is a centrally located truck distribution center. Yet many times 40 to 60 trucks course the cities streets—and it is likely they will continue to do so.

Although suggestions have frequently been offered for reducing truck operations, each of the proposals has had drawbacks which outweigh the potential benefits. Many distributors would not use a distribution center to cut down on the number of their trucks even if it would reduce costs. A truck is a moving billboard. Manufacturers may pay \$1,000 per month or more to advertise their project from several fixed locations. An advertisement that is constantly in circulation can be exposed to large numbers of people at a very small fraction of the cost of a static display. It is not likely that the Coca Cola Co. would be willing to hide its merchandise inside a truck marked "Consolidated Delivery."

Even less practicable than distribution centers are truck tunnels. A celebrated plan for Fort Worth recommended that all truck operations should be placed underground. Although the proposal was made 13 years ago, the system of tunnels was never started—nor is it likely to be. A truck tunnel may cost in the neighborhood of \$3,000 per lineal foot. The cost of

a full system, measured in miles, would far outweigh the benefits. Furthermore, an understanding of the nature of truck operations makes it clear that the truck does not belong underground.

Many deliveries require stops of just two or three minutes. A study in downtown Washington showed that 40 per cent of on-street truck stops took less than five minutes. To require these vehicles to make their way through a subterranean labyrinth would raise freight costs and largely penalize the small businessman. At the other extreme (trucks loading or unloading in alleys), the Washington study found that 60 per cent remained for more than an hour. The drivers of these vehicles could bypass an alley that was full, make another delivery or two, and return. With an underground network, this flexibility would be seriously hampered.

A less drastic solution than tunnels is a restriction on the hours of pick up and delivery. This can be helpful, if not carried to extremes. Small businessmen cannot afford to have someone at the store to receive merchandise before normal operating hours. But a proscription against deliveries after about 11 a. m. is not much of a hardship for either merchant or trucker. At the same time, this arrangement gets most of the trucks out of the central business district before pedestrian traffic reaches a peak. In fact, many truck services are naturally oriented to morning operations. Trash is generally collected while most of the city is still asleep. Restaurants, which are the biggest magnets for trucks, need much of their merchandise first thing in the morning. Breadmen and milkmen work downtown routes at hours comparable to their fellow workers in residential areas.

Once the truck arrives at its destination, the most important consideration is provision for efficient loading and unloading. Average figures for truck service requirements may have validity in one city and be wholly inappropriate in another. Nevertheless, the following table can be used for relative evaluations of truck service:

Land Use	Truck Stops per Day per 10,000 square feet net
Office	2.0
Apparel stores	5.0
Department stores	2.5
Miscellaneous stores	2.5
Restaurants, drug stores	40.0
Institutions	1.0

The number of daily stops is not necessarily an indication of the amount of loading space required. Although restaurants may have 20 times as many stops as office buildings, a furniture van might spend more than 20 times as many minutes unloading as a soft drink truck. (Longer stops, whenever possible, should be made off-street.)

Cities which have alleys should make the most of these assets. Minor capital outlays to improve the accessibility and the flexibility of alleys, coupled with enforcement against their use for private parking, can be a city's most effective means of coping with the truck problem.

\* Horwood, E. M. "Center City Goods Movement: An Aspect of Congestion." HRB Bulletin 203. Page 89 (1958).



Downtown parking garages and lots are essential in a total approach to easing traffic congestion.

### The Automobile in Downtown

The automobile has been represented as an "insolent chariot" on one hand, and as the object of the average American's love affair on the other hand. Few domestic subjects have aroused as bitter controversy as the role of the automobile. This is as true downtown as it is in residential areas. Many people recall the days of horse drawn vehicles with nostalgia. Despite what Shakespeare had Marc Antony proclaim, the good remains in the memory long after the bad is forgotten. We recall the charm of horse drawn vehicles, and forget the swarms of flies and the filth that went with this picture. The man who says traffic moved faster before the age of the automobile has not traveled much by horse and wagon.

The truth is, our cities are much cleaner today than they were 50 years ago. Admittedly, air pollution is a growing problem. But those who would place the major blame for this on the automobile should read, or reread, Richard Henry Dana's description of Los Angeles in the middle of the 19th century in *Two Years Before the Mast*.

Nevertheless, our growing automobile population brings growing problems. It would be hard to deny that automobile accessibility is essential to a viable downtown. Except for New York and Chicago, private transportation is the dominant mode of travel to the central business district. Even in those two cities the automobile plays a major role for other than work trips.

This should not be surprising. Virtually all street networks are oriented to downtown—even where the grid pattern predominates. Most freeway systems now abuilding strengthen this orientation. If there is any doubt of the relative accessibility of downtown and suburban shopping centers, just count the number of traffic lanes leading into each. With every lane of ordinary city street generally able to handle 600 or more vehicles per hour, and freeway lanes able to move three times that number, large volumes of people can be brought into downtown by automobile alone in a short period of time.

Consider, for example, a region with a population of one million. There would be about 400,000 jobs, perhaps 15 per cent of which (60,000) would be in

the central business district. At an occupancy rate of 1.5 persons per car, this would require 40,000 automobiles if only private transportation were available. If 40 per cent of these arrive in the peak hour (not an unreasonable assumption) and only 500 cars move along a traffic lane in one hour, 32 lanes would be required for each direction. With a system of one-way streets, two streets each four lanes wide could handle this volume.

All this presupposes there would be room to store the cars on their arrival. Parking would seem to be a constraint on the potential use of automobiles to and from downtown. Or is it? The 40,000 cars for employees would need 31,000 parking spaces, assuming 1.3 cars would use each space. If we figure on an additional 40,000 cars for visitors and shoppers, with an average of 2.5 cars using each space, we would need an additional 16,000 spaces. The total parking demand would thus be 47,000 spaces. Although there would be room for considerable curb parking (where each space may be used by seven or eight cars per day), let us figure on all spaces off street in structures. If we build garages with two levels below ground and eight levels above, we would need 34 acres of land for parking. This might be one-third of downtown's land. Admittedly the percentage is large. Yet some central business districts today have nearly this much land in use as parking lots.

Regardless of the possibilities, no city is likely to adopt such a plan. For one thing, mass transportation is, and will remain, necessary for a significant proportion of the urban population. Furthermore, a plan as suggested above would require rigid controls in development and operation. Probably no municipal government in America today could carry out such a plan. Theoretically, it might be done under the powers of urban renewal. Whether or not it should be done is debatable. Less drastic solutions, however, are clearly called for. Few cities have adequate parking in the downtown area. Parking space is generally in short supply around the retail core, where it is most needed. Exceptions to this situation are found in the Southwest, and in smaller cities where a lot or garage on the fringe of downtown is within walking distance of the retail concentration. In the past, private enterprise has supplied most of central business district parking

needs. The trend today, however, is for increased involvement by municipalities in public parking programs.

## Mass Transportation Downtown

In many cities it has been observed that, of all trips to downtown, a certain percentage must use automobiles, another percentage must use mass transit, and the remainder could use either. It would seem that the latter two categories should be increasing, while those requiring automobiles should be decreasing. The kind of job for which an automobile is a necessity is to some degree leaving downtown. For example, manufacturers and light industries, which attract many salesmen, are moving to the suburbs. The salesmen and their cars follow.

But downtown remains attractive to many in the growing numbers of elderly people and young people. These groups are traditionally dependent on mass transportation. Both of these segments of our population are growing. Lower income people have long been a captive group of the transit industry. As incomes go up, the number in this group will go down. Yet there is evidence that many of these people will continue to use transit, when it seems more desirable than owning and operating an automobile. Thus we get into the growing category of those who can choose either mode.

Projects carried out under the Department of Housing and Urban Development's mass transportation demonstration program have shown that many people who have a choice will opt for transit when the service is satisfactory. High utilization of mass transit should be an objective for every city. The greater the usage, the better can be the service. With good service there is opportunity for those who are dependent on transit to participate in all aspects of community life. And, of course, increased transit usage means decreased congestion from private vehicles.

One might make the same argument for exclusive use of transit as was previously made for the automobile. It can easily be shown that relatively few transit routes could meet all of downtown's trip requirements. Either bus or rail transit has the basic capacity to carry large volumes of people in short periods of time. To be fully effective, there must be an adequate network to serve all parts of the region. It is pointless, however, to make a case for relying solely on transit for access to downtown. No city would contemplate seriously such a course of action, because business would soon leave the center city. In the end, there would be little left in downtown for transit to serve. However, a city with a transit system which is capable of this task is fortunate indeed.

For downtown, an important part of mass transit is the service within the central business area. In many cities, the expanse of downtown compares unfavorably with the compactness of shopping centers. The distances between stores, and from parking to the stores, can be effectively reduced by an appropriately designed internal circulation system. The minibus, which originated in Washington, has successfully filled this role in a number of downtowns, from San Juan to

Honolulu. Miami Beach's Lincoln Road Mall uses Cushman electric carts. Other potential devices, as Carveyor and Speedwalk, have not yet been tested in central business districts. As we shall see in next month's article, effectively shortening the distance between individual stores will tend to increase shopping in the area. However, without getting into new systems, there is much that a city can do to make transit more attractive. Exclusive lanes for buses facilitate transit operations and, frequently, improve automobile flow at the same time. Loading areas with pull-out bays for buses and shelters for waiting riders are desirable, particularly at heavy load points. Certain streets can be designed for transit operations, with signals timed to favor frequently stopping buses.

Improved operations will help. But for public acceptance of transit, good communication is highly important. The potential rider must be informed when the vehicle is scheduled to arrive, where it will go, and how long the trip will take. Many cities have made effective use of displays at bus stops for communication of some of this information. Credibility of posted schedules is directly proportional to the ability of transit vehicles to maintain the schedules.

In larger cities, taxicabs play a significant role in mass transportation operations. Surprisingly little has been done to take fuller advantage of this flexible and efficient transit system. Loading areas with shelters, benches and telephones could be provided jointly by the city and the taxicab companies. Although there is competition between the bus and the taxi, the two modes can be made complementary, to the benefit of both. In this case, the real beneficiary is the riding public.

## The Transportation System

Except for rail rapid transit, all modes of transportation must use the city's streets. Unfortunately, most streets are used in just that way—to accommodate every kind of movement. Fast moving vehicles, slow, frequently stopping vehicles, large trucks, Volkswagens, and pedestrians all compete for the same space. Some want to move, some want to stand still. It is little wonder that we have so much congestion.

Many cities have the beginnings of a logical street system. Alleys are designed for goods movement. One-way arteries with progressive signal timing are useful for moving large numbers of vehicles quickly. Crosswalks and malls delineate pedestrian areas. But probably nowhere is there a comprehensive system of streets with each designed to do a special job and each related to the other and to the total system for optimum efficiency.

If downtown is to fulfill its proper role in the last third of the Twentieth Century, a good beginning point would be the development of a functional traffic plan. If properly designed to serve downtown's land uses and to provide flexibility for growth and change, a good traffic plan can be a city's best investment. For the traffic plan makes the transportation system work. And, in the final analysis, good transportation should be one of downtown's prime assets. ■

NEXT MONTH: The Pedestrian Downtown



## THE PEDESTRIAN

# Downtown's Forgotten Man (and Woman)

Making the Center City A Pleasant Place to Walk Can Bring Varied Benefits

ROBERT L. MORRIS

TAKE \$500 million worth of buildings. Add appropriate portions of public improvements: streets, sidewalks, lights, power, trees. Blend carefully. And what do you have? A collection of buildings, streets, etc. Now add a liberal amount of people, and—voilà!—DOWNTOWN.

The observation has been made countless times that downtown is for people. It is a pedestrian place. It is always pedestrian in the usual sense because of the way it works. It is often pedestrian in the unusual sense because of the way it looks. Regardless of its appearance, however, it is downtown because it has people walking about in it in the course of transacting business, exchanging ideas, learning, being entertained, seeking justice, going to one of the countless attractions in the center city.

The magnitude of pedestrian trips, as a part of the total urban transportation picture, is rarely understood. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the mammoth transportation studies, which have become popular in recent years, only superficially look into walking trips. This may be partly due to the difficulty in getting information on "unimportant" trips during home interviews. It is also due, in large part, to the attitude of many transportation planners that the only significant trips are those which take place inside a vehicle. Small wonder that downtowns are so often congested and confusing when they are planned primarily to meet the needs of less than 20 per cent of the trips, all but ignoring the 80 per cent of all intra-downtown trips that are made by foot.

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People walk for many reasons. Sometimes it is for pleasure. Often the walk is essential. In downtown it is necessary, but it can also be made pleasant. Indeed, the best downtowns—those which work the best, sell the most, attract the greatest number of visitors—are those which provide comfort and delight to the pedestrian. Even when there is no joy in walking, people will walk downtown because they must. They may not walk as much per day, or come downtown as many days as the merchants would like. But when they come, they walk.

The nature of the pedestrian trip is almost as varied as is the nature of downtown. It is generally believed that shopping is the dominant purpose for walking in downtown. This is true, but business trips are nearly as numerous. The person who enters downtown to conduct business usually has more than one stop to make. The great majority of these extra stops are made by foot. The average business walking trip is longer than the average shopping trip, so that the total distance walked for business is about the same as the distance walked for shopping. These distances will, of course, vary with the dimensions of downtown.

Another important reason for walking is to get a meal. Lunch trips, which are an important part of total walk trips, are often combined with shopping. Many downtowns have more people on the sidewalks shortly after noon than at any other time of the day.

A not unreasonable reaction to the length of walking trips might be, "So what?" The significance for the downtown planner is that an understanding of the purpose and length of pedestrian trips will permit installation of pedestrian amenities at appropriate intervals to meet the walker's needs. Furthermore, the planner can structure pedestrian ways to help achieve a more functional downtown. It must be remembered that the realtor's three basic criteria for determining



A variety of sidewalk amenities for pedestrians downtown might include cafes, newsstands, information kiosks, benches for tired shoppers, and flower vending places. Modern mall design, like the one at right for Sacramento, Calif., tends to coordinate human touches into a compact area.



land value are: (1) location, (2) location, and (3) location. What the realtor means, of course, is that the property which is located where the greatest number of people walk by, will be in a position to do the most business. In this respect, the sidewalk is the single most important element in downtown. Indeed, many downtown properties are valued not by the square foot but by the front foot—the foot that faces the sidewalk. How curious, then, that so many cities treat their sidewalks so shabbily!

### Pedestrian Amenities

In some cities midblock arcades have been used to create additional pedestrian ways, providing extra "front footage" for valuable retail space. Cleveland, San Francisco, and St. Louis have successful arcades. Baltimore's arcade (through the Tower Building) was closed and converted to internal office use. Probably the reason it did not work out was because the arcade was just 50 feet from a parallel street, rather than midblock. There was little attractiveness for this pedestrian way except during inclement weather.

Other devices, similar to arcades, are used more frequently to entice the pedestrian along a particular route. Underpasses and subterranean walkways are increasing in popularity. Houston has at least 15 separate pedestrian tunnels. Montreal has more than two

miles of underground walkways. One can walk considerable distances on a rainy day in New York without getting wet and without entering a subway. Philadelphia has extensive pedestrian tunnels directly related to the subway system.

The overpass is another useful device. It is often used to link a parking garage with a department store. In Denver, a prominent hotel is connected to a department store by elevated walkway. The convenience of these devices—to the parker or to the hotel resident—is certain to result in increased sales on the other side of the bridge.

Convenience is the key to increased sales in a given event. More merchandise is sold at the "100 per cent corner" than elsewhere because that corner is convenient to more people than any other. As we have already seen, other stores huddle around the major attractor, as close to the "100 per cent corner" as possible.

There appears to be a close correlation between convenience—the mutual accessibility—of stores and the interaction of shopping between them. Most people who come downtown to shop visit several stores before returning home. Even downtown employees who shop at lunch time or after work often make more than one shopping stop. When a shopper leaves one store with the purpose of going to another, he is most likely



Photos: Robert L. Morris; Sketch: Victor Gruen Associates

go to the nearest and largest store which sells the kind of merchandise he seeks. He is attracted primarily by the size of the store and secondarily by the distance to the store. But these factors are relative. A very large store beyond walking distance would not compete too well with a somewhat smaller, nearby store. To make a downtown work better, not too much can be done about the size of the stores. Much can be done, however, to improve the linkage between stores—to make the distance *seem* smaller.

Good urban design can strengthen the visual linkages in downtown. If the goal is in sight, it should not be too far away. Internal circulation vehicles can effectively reduce walking distances. Interspersed attractions encourage the walker to keep walking. Probably the most important thing is to provide the simple pleasant touches which, it seems, should be commonplace in a civilized community. Imagine a downtown with no outdoor benches. It is easy to imagine, as few downtowns have any. Wherever benches are provided, even if they are made of cold, hard stone, they are used constantly by grateful, weary pedestrians. Drinking fountains, providing fresh, cool water for the thirsty walker give welcome relief on a hot day. And rest rooms! Of all the basic ingredients of civilization, the flush toilet is surely the *sine qua non*. But try to find one in downtown!

Arguments can, and frequently are, made against all of these things. Benches are supposed to attract undesirable people who will use them for sleeping. Yet it is hard to imagine a homeless individual coming into the central business district just to lie on a bench. There are better, more secluded places elsewhere. Drinking fountains are objected to because they require maintenance. But so do streets and traffic signals. We do not let the maintenance problem stop us from making those installations. Rest rooms get dirty and have been known as havens for social misfits. The personnel required to assure decorum in these places should not place an undue strain on any municipal budget.

All of these arguments are reminiscent of the public debates set off when the President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia proposed sidewalk cafes for the Nation's Capital several years ago. Despite dire warnings that outdoor eateries would attract every undesirable creature, from rats and roaches to pickpockets and prostitutes, the sidewalk cafes were approved. They have since become quite popular, and not one of the warnings has been borne out.

Indeed, the sidewalk is a fine place for eating. A hot dog, a soft drink, ice cream or peanuts offer refreshment to keep the pedestrian going. The sale of hot chestnuts and confectioneries from sidewalk stands is a colorful part of the European street scene that has never really taken hold in America. Probably it is again a concern with cleanliness that is responsible. How strange that our cities should be so dirty when so many of us have such an obsession about cleanliness.

Sidewalks should be used for many activities. Merchandise, properly displayed, can be an asset to the street scene and an excellent form of advertising. Even the use of sidewalks for unloading merchandise can be desirable. Burlap bags stamped with exotic coffees and spices, or rough crates with fancy liqueur labels are attractive manifestations of downtown's varied activities. Merchandise of many varieties can be sold from the sidewalk. What better place is there for peddling newspapers and cut flowers? Displays of second-hand books and art works are happy discoveries for many pedestrians. Information kiosks and posters clearly belong on the sidewalk, easily accessible to large numbers of people. All of these things enhance the functional attractiveness of downtown.

But all of these things require space, and the pedestrian, himself, must have space. There must be room enough on the sidewalk for all of the uses demanded of it.

### Planning for Pedestrians

How wide should a sidewalk be? Attempts have been made to measure the capacity of a sidewalk, just as capacities of streets for vehicles are determined. This hardly seems appropriate, because moving people is not comparable to moving automobiles. Perhaps the most famous sidewalk in the world, the Champs Elysées in Paris, narrows down in places to a scant four feet between a sidewalk cafe and the automobile parking area. Pedestrian traffic is fluid. It easily adjusts to changing space conditions. Probably the most successful sidewalks are those which are constantly changing,

with varying widths and with various activities taking place here by the curb, there by the building line. Surely the sidewalk needs enough width so that people will not have to walk in the street. Yet there are places and times—as Boston's Washington Street just before Christmas—where a very good pedestrian street will have more foot traffic than the sidewalks can handle. It is better to have too many people for the walkway than to have a broad expanse of concrete with no pedestrians.

When people overflow from the sidewalks into the street, automobiles will yield. As a rule, unfortunately, this does not happen at intersections in normal circumstances. The intersection is one place that must be regularly shared by pedestrians and vehicles. Laws generally give the right-of-way to the pedestrian. It is a bold person, however, who asserts his right in the face of a moving car. This conflict between pedestrians and vehicles is a major problem, not just in downtown, but throughout urbanized areas. Many solutions to the problem have been sought. One hundred years ago, a pedestrian overpass was built across Broadway at Fulton Street in New York City. In spite of its attractive appearance, it was removed after one year because people would not take the trouble to climb the steps, preferring to take their chances with the mud and horses.

### **Pedestrians and Traffic**

In recent years, many cities have installed pedestrian phases in their traffic signals. Popularized by Henry A. Barnes a dozen years ago in Denver, this concept is often called "The Barnes Dance." All vehicular traffic is held up while pedestrians can cross the intersection in any direction. The conflict is thereby eliminated, but it results in long delays for both pedestrians and vehicles. Every such delay to the shopper effectively lengthens the distance between stores, and may reduce the number of shopping stops he will make.

Elevated sidewalks, or second level pedestrian ways, often have been mentioned as a solution to the basic conflict. Not surprisingly, the concept has been, by and large, confined to talk rather than implementation. It has generally been limited to some large scale redevelopment projects and to some European new towns. A look at most downtown second stories with their wide variations in floor levels shows the difficulty in carrying out this scheme in an established business area. Furthermore, there are problems of staged construction. The second level almost surely could not be built at once all over downtown. In the meantime, pedestrians would not be any more likely to climb up and down stairs between levels than they were to climb up and over Broadway's foot bridge a century ago. Escalators would be out of the question because of cost and maintenance problems. Of more importance, however, is the nature of the businesses. Few merchants in downtown can operate on two levels. Most stores are small, and all the selling space is on the ground floor. The problems involved in shifting these businesses around work against the second level pedestrian way even if all the other problems could be solved.

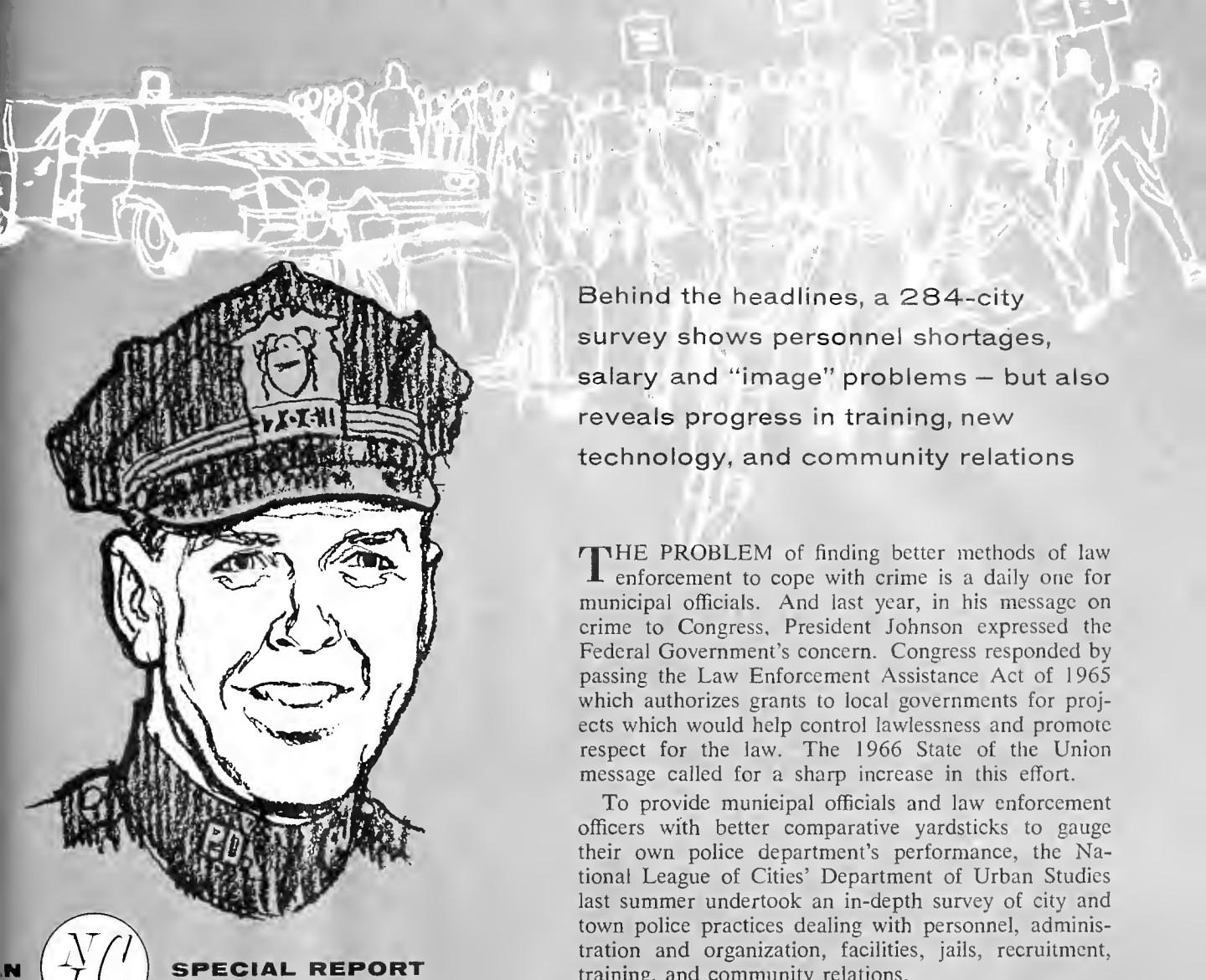
The one solution to the pedestrian-vehicle conflict which is very much in vogue these days is the pedestrian mall. By eliminating vehicular traffic, the conflict itself is eliminated. The idea seems simple.

Unfortunately, the simplicity is deceptive. A great many factors must be considered in planning for a mall. Vehicles using the street that is to become the mall must be diverted to other streets. Generally this includes mass transit vehicles. However, a major destination for the transit riders should be the mall itself. Minneapolis has resolved this dilemma by designating its Nicolette Mall to accommodate buses. There must always be provisions for emergency vehicles to enter. Trucks must either be able to service buildings from the rear, or else they must be permitted to bring merchandise through the mall during certain hours. Financial involves not just an initial outlay, but continuing funds for maintenance. There are many legal problems involved. A few states have created special legislation to facilitate mall development. With all the hurdles facing a mall planner, it is small wonder that so many malls have failed. Great success has been claimed for a few, but it is difficult to evaluate these successes. Sales statistics can be very misleading. Large numbers of people are not necessarily large numbers of shoppers, particularly when many of the people are children. Any increase in business on the mall may be offset by loss of business just around the corner.

There is no intention to denigrate the mall concept. It may be appropriate for some cities, but it is certainly not a panacea. If the thinking that goes into a mall were applied to all of downtown, it would almost surely be more beneficial. Why should not all of downtown benefit from automobile traffic channeled into relatively few, properly designed streets; proper provision for truck loading and unloading; the many pedestrian amenities discussed above; an attractive setting; adequate maintenance funds and a generally stimulating environment? Why should not all of downtown be the showpiece: the bright, attractive, efficient market place? Total separation of pedestrians and vehicles is not essential. What is required is a separation of pedestrian from the heavy, through traffic. Let those vehicles which have business in downtown come in on the pedestrian's terms. Let the drivers know that they are tolerated because in a few minutes they, too, will be pedestrians. Restrict their speeds. Permit pedestrians to cross at frequent intervals in marked mid-block crosswalks. Give the pedestrian the break in signal timing at the intersection. Provide adequate parking just outside the main retail area. And then there will be no real conflict.

Take care of the pedestrian, and downtown will be healthy. Then it must follow that the city, too, will be healthy. For downtown gives to the city what the pedestrian gives to downtown: its life blood.

Reprints of the entire three-part series on Downtown America are available for 40 cents each, \$25 per 100 copies, and \$175 per 1,000 copies from NATION'S CITIES Reprint Service, The City Building, 1612 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.



N  
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES  
**SPECIAL REPORT**

# MUNICIPAL LAW ENFORCEMENT 1966

RAYMOND L. BANCROFT

*This article was prepared with the assistance of  
J. Kinney O'Rourke, General Counsel,  
National League of Cities*

Behind the headlines, a 284-city survey shows personnel shortages, salary and "image" problems — but also reveals progress in training, new technology, and community relations

THE PROBLEM of finding better methods of law enforcement to cope with crime is a daily one for municipal officials. And last year, in his message on crime to Congress, President Johnson expressed the Federal Government's concern. Congress responded by passing the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965 which authorizes grants to local governments for projects which would help control lawlessness and promote respect for the law. The 1966 State of the Union message called for a sharp increase in this effort.

To provide municipal officials and law enforcement officers with better comparative yardsticks to gauge their own police department's performance, the National League of Cities' Department of Urban Studies last summer undertook an in-depth survey of city and town police practices dealing with personnel, administration and organization, facilities, jails, recruitment, training, and community relations.

Detailed 14-page questionnaires containing 86 queries were sent to 393 city and town police departments in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. A substantial 72 per cent (or 284 departments) answered the questionnaire. Replies came from departments of all sizes in 45 states and the District, serving a combined urban population of 57,666,750 and employing a total of 117,437 police officers and 16,193 civilians.

The survey results which follow are presented in the hope they will lead to enlightened consideration of the staffing and administration problems which nearly every municipal law enforcement agency faces today.

## POLICE QUESTIONNAIRES

CITY SIZE	NO. SENT	NO. RETURNED	%
Above 250,000.....	51	47	92
100,000—250,000.....	79	73	92
50,000—100,000.....	195	106	54
25,000—50,000.....	32	30	94
Below 25,000.....	36	28	78
Totals.....	393	284	72

# **Understaffed, underpaid urban police departments struggle to find solutions to personnel problems**

Personnel, administration and organization problems loom large for America's police chiefs. Consider, for example, these statistics from the NLC Police survey:

- 65.5 per cent of the 284 responding police departments reported they were operating below authorized strength.
- Of the 98 departments (35.5 per cent) at authorized strength, at least 79 reported more police officers should be added to their forces.
- While these 284 departments employ a total of 117,437 police officers (an average of 2 policemen for every 1,000 persons), they are 5,840 officers (an average of 5 per cent) below *authorized* strength of 123,277 and 11,864 officers (an average of 10 per cent) short of their *preferred* strength.
- Of the 6,322 police officers (5.4 per cent) who left the departments during the preceding 12 months, 33 per cent retired, 24 per cent took better paying non-police jobs, 8 per cent were dismissed, 7 per cent switched to other police departments, 7 per cent incurred service connected disabilities, and 3 per cent suffered other disabilities. The remaining 18 per cent ended their police careers in a variety of ways (death, other resignations, return to school, etc.). Of the 6,322 officers leaving the departments, 163 were college graduates.
- 36 was the average age of all police officers.
- 49 per cent of all reporting police departments pay their officers under \$5,000 a year as a beginning salary and 8 per cent start rookies under \$4,000 a year.
- 52 per cent of the departments pay maximum salaries of \$6,000 or more to their police officers, but 16 per cent still have maximum salaries for patrolmen of under \$5,000.

How to attract and keep dedicated police officers is of constant concern to most top police officials who

answered the NLC survey. Some (41) expressed opinion that more pay would help their departments do this. But one southern police chief noted:

"We would like to extract stronger support for police salaries but do not want to become involved in political pressures which in recent years have been avoided. This has benefited the departmental image."

A border state police chief commented:

"Low salary paid police is a fairly good yardstick to indicate community opinion of the police officer."

And a midwest chief added:

"(We should) raise salaries to a point where we can attract the best men and keep the good ones we have, and eliminate the necessity of police officers having to work at two jobs in order to make an adequate living."

Several other police chiefs took note of this problem of police "moonlighting"—working at another job during off-duty hours—when asked later in the survey to list specific criticism leveled by citizens at the officers. "Outside jobs held by members of the department," said an Indiana chief. Nine other officials said one of the most commonly heard criticisms of the men concerned their "failure to pay bills."

But if pay raises for uniformed personnel aren't always easy to come by, police departments appear to be having some success in hiring more civilian employees in order to free officers for patrol duties. Total civilian employment reported was 16,193—approximately one for every 7.2 police officers. Civilians in these departments represent 12 per cent of the total number of police employees, the NLC survey showed. The 1964 edition of the FBI's *Uniform Crime Report* noted the national percentage of civilian employees in city police departments was 10.4. In 1963 the figure was 9.9 per cent.

That this upward trend in civilian employment is likely to continue was evident in the way 56 per cent

## **LARGE AND SMALL DEPARTMENTS FACE SIMILAR MANPOWER NEED**

	47 cities 250,000 pop. and above	73 cities 250,000 to 100,000	106 cities 100,000 to 50,000	30 cities 50,000 to 25,000	28 cities 25,000 and below
POLICE OFFICERS PER 1,000 PERSONS	2.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	2.0
AVERAGE NO. OF MEN IN EACH DEPT.	1,363*	209	98	53	30
AVERAGE NO. OF MEN NEEDED IN EACH DEPT.	144*	40	18	9	5
AVERAGE RATE OF INCREASE IN DEPT.	11%	19%	18%	17%	17%

\* Excludes New York. If included, figures would be 1,903 and 275 respectively.

of the police officials taking part in the survey said they believed an increase in the number of civilian employees in their departments would permit more effective use of police officers.

Civilian employees fill such positions as record and general clerk, secretary, telephone operator, radio dispatcher, school crossing guard, mechanic, meter maid, custodian, and laboratory technician.

The relatively new police cadet program, designed not only to relieve police officers of administrative chores but also to spur young men to become career policemen has had limited acceptance by police officials, the NLC survey showed. Only 18 per cent, or 52 of the 284 responding law enforcement agencies, reported they had started cadet programs. And in these, 343 cadets were enrolled or an average of 16 per department. At least one city—Memphis—has dropped its cadet unit. "It did not prove satisfactory," an official aid on the survey questionnaire. Stockton, Calif.'s police cadets are members of a Boy Scout Explorer Post.

## Ratio of police officers to urban populations remains static despite crime rate increases

Maintaining an adequate police force to combat crime is a never-ending battle for most police departments. While the national average of 2.0 police officers per 1,000 persons in cities and towns shown in the NLC survey is a slight improvement over the most recent (1964) figure of 1.9 reported by the FBI, many departments are below this average.

On a population basis, only those cities over 250,000 and under 25,000 population achieved or surpassed the national average of 2.0. Here are the ratios based on city size:

Over 250,000—2.36 officers per 1,000 persons
250,000-100,000—1.3
100,000-50,000—1.35
50,000-25,000—1.4
Under 25,000—2.0

In its last edition of *Uniform Crime Reports*, the FBI spelled out the danger in not keeping police staffing up to date with population growth:

"This ratio has remained virtually unchanged since 1958 despite an incidence of crime and other demands for police service which have continued to increase at a rapid pace. In this era of rapidly shifting populations and mushrooming suburban growth, frequent evaluations of personnel requirements are mandatory for all communities if they are to have the necessary police protection."

The NLC survey also looked into the working hours and fringe benefits of police officers.

The 40-hour week has become almost standard in most police departments, survey results showed. Of the 284 departments taking part, 82 per cent (or 234 agencies) reported a work week of between 40 and 43 hours. Seven per cent had a work week of 44 to 47 hours and 10 per cent 48 hours or more.

For the most part, cadet programs are big-city oriented. In fact, the survey showed 73 per cent (38) of all the cadet programs are in cities above 100,000 population. And these 38 large city departments had 686 cadets enrolled, or 81 per cent of all the cadets reported. Twelve more departments had 53 cadets in cities between 50,000 and 100,000 population while only two departments with 127 cadets were reported in cities below 50,000. The police cadet programs were least popular in the populous Northeast where only seven departments reported having them. The other three regions were more evenly divided in cadet programs: Midwest, 16; South, 15; and West, 14.

Eighty per cent of those departments with cadets said they recruit them in the same way they recruit officers while 14 per cent said they applied civilian recruiting criteria to the youngsters. But 96 per cent said they used the same character checks on cadets as applied to regular officers.

The 35-member Butte, Mont., police force has the distinction of being the only department reporting a work week below 40 hours. Its men work 35 hours a week.

Retirement systems were reported in all of the police departments. But the variety of retirement plans is interesting: 41 per cent are police-only systems and 25 per cent are joint police-fire plans. Another 15 per cent of the departments use plans that cover all city employees and a like amount use other systems. Only 10 per cent of the departments, however, participate in the Social Security retirement system.

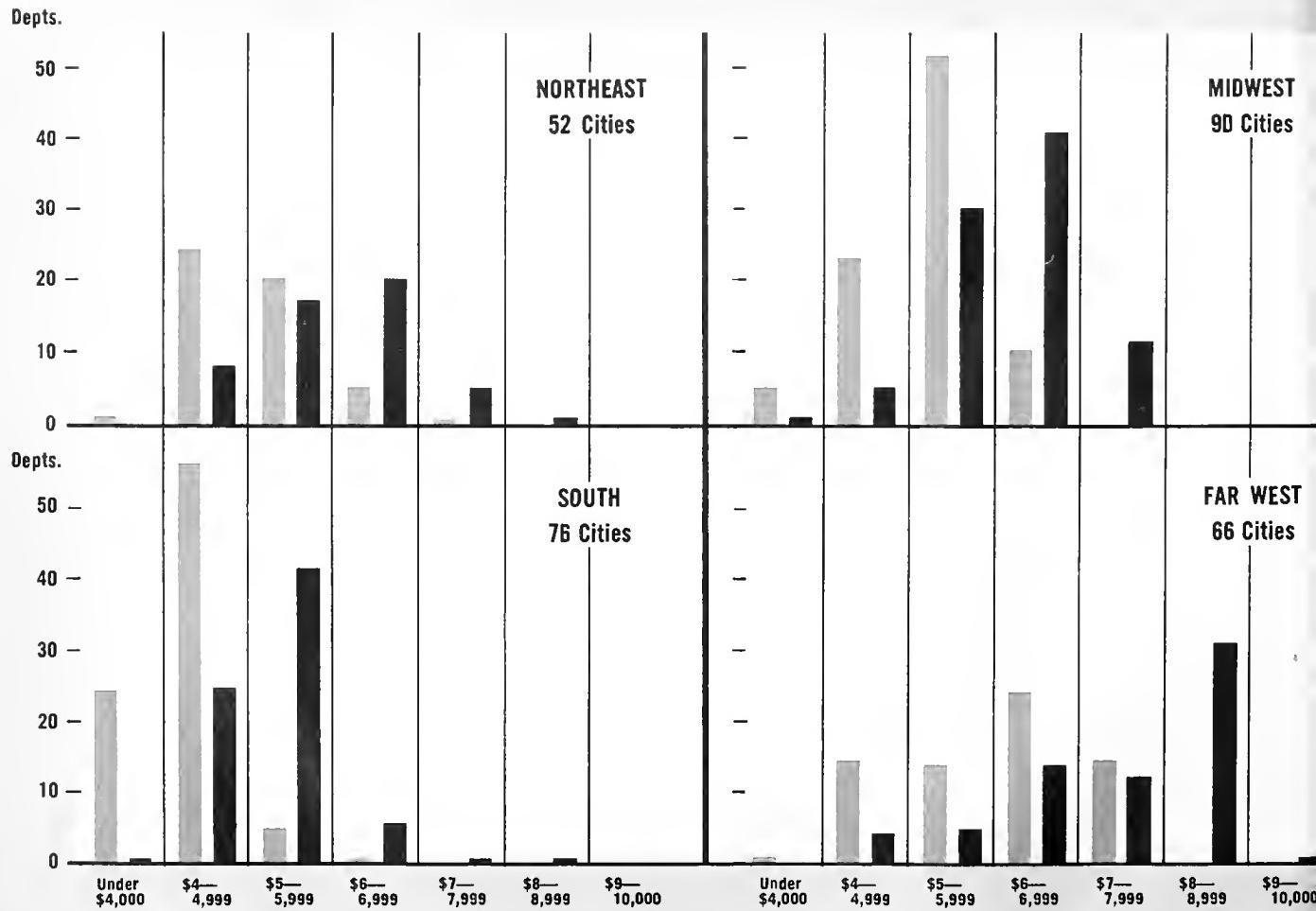
For a hazardous profession like law enforcement, the danger of injury in the line of duty is always present. Most departments, therefore, have policies dealing with these situations. But they vary sharply as to whether the permanent disability was service-incurred or took place while the officer was off duty. For example, only 1 per cent of the departments said they dismissed officers after they suffered on-duty permanent disabilities. But this dismissal figure jumped to 14 per cent if the disability occurred while off-duty. (One department said if the disability occurs while the officer is moonlighting, he gets no pension.) In the majority of cases, however, disabled officers are either retired or assigned to desk duties whether injured on duty or off.

The survey also showed that 69 per cent of the reporting departments' officers are covered (15 per cent partially) by merit systems. And when it comes time for promotions, 46 per cent (130) said work performance played a role in making officers eligible. Most departments also use several other means to determine promotion eligibility: written examinations, 244; length of service, 185; oral examinations, 168; and experience on the job, 133.

## 'MORE MEN' A COMMON PLEA FROM NATION'S POLICE CHIEFS



### REGIONAL INFLUENCE ON POLICE OFFICER STARTING AND MAXIMUM SALARIES



## **Percentage of non-crime connected duties too high in many departments, police chiefs complain**

Administration and organization of America's police departments tend to follow the same basic lines depending on the size of the city and the department, the NLC survey showed.

For example, most of the 278 agencies replying to this phase of the survey said they have major divisions for patrol (258), detective (251) and traffic (205). Records (181) and communications (104) also are popular division breakdowns for larger police agencies. Other divisions such as service (49), maintenance (15) and training and inspection (42) are—for the most part—limited to departments in cities over 50,000 population.

This same principle holds with the establishment of special units or squads—such as homicide and juvenile—with these divisions. Of the reporting agencies, 85 per cent said they have set up special squads. The most often mentioned squads include: juvenile (181), traffic accident investigation (163), fingerprinting (154), vice (144), records (138), auto theft (118), burglary (110), narcotics (101), homicide (99), and robbery (97).

Canine (K-9) squads were reported by 79 (or 28 per cent) of all responding departments. They were listed by 49 per cent of the cities surveyed in the South but by only 20 per cent of the responding departments in the Northeast and Midwest and by 18 per cent of the western cities.

While nearly all (97 per cent) of the agencies said they divided their cities into "beats," "sectors," or "precincts" for patrol purposes, only 32 per cent (or 90) said they had "districts" or "precincts" for administrative purposes. These 90 cities said they had a total of 766 administrative precincts or an average of 8.5 per city. Based on the total population of these cities, each precinct serves an average of 49,207 people. Some of the precinct station houses, however, serve more than one precinct since the cities reported a total of 368 station houses (or 4 per city) for 766 precincts. Nineteen departments said they had consolidated pre-

cincts and eliminated 58 station houses during the past 10 years. The geographic area to be covered and the incidence of crime and traffic accidents were the leading criteria used by departments in setting up patrol beats.

Devoting valuable time to such non-crime duties as driving ambulances, chauffeuring municipal officials and serving in funeral and parade details was of concern to many police officials filling out the NLC questionnaire. Of the 277 departments answering the question, 106 (38 per cent) said some of their officers had been assigned non-crime connected duties. Of the 106 departments, 81 said less than 10 per cent of their agency's time was devoted to such non-crime activities; 8 said the time involved was 10 to 19 per cent; 6 said between 20 and 29 per cent; and 11 reported 30 per cent and above. Several officials replied their departments spent 40 to 50 per cent of their time in these non-crime assignments. When these 106 departments were asked, "Is too much time devoted to non-crime connected duties?" 34 per cent said "Yes".

The whole field of police department administration and organization is constantly under study by numerous consultants and professional groups—such as the International Association of Chiefs of Police—called in by the cities themselves to recommend how these procedures could be improved. The NLC survey sought to determine just how widespread these studies were.

Twenty-six per cent of the 277 departments answering this question reported they had undertaken independent surveys of their administrative procedures or organization within the past 10 years. Of the 73 studies made, 93 per cent were conducted in police departments serving cities over 50,000 population. There was almost unanimous (98 per cent) agreement by the police officials of these surveyed departments that the studies had been valuable. When the studies were completed, 40 per cent put the recommendations into effect, 55 per cent partially adopted the recommendations and 5 per cent said the suggestions from the studies were not carried out.

## **Enterprising police recruiters will try almost anything to attract officer candidates**

The American police department's avid pursuit of more men and women to fill its ranks is readily understood when it is realized that the NLC Police Survey shows a whopping 64.5 per cent of the responding police agencies operating at below authorized personnel strength.

While it is true that these departments reported they averaged only 5 per cent below authorized strength, they also said they would prefer—on the average—to operate with at least 10 per cent more officers. In most cases police officials felt that their personnel authorizations should be raised.

But finding qualified men and women to bring their police forces up to strength is a real problem for most chiefs. The survey showed 76 per cent of the participants are tackling it with an imaginative bag of recruiting techniques in active campaigns. Newspaper "help wanted" advertising (some in out-of-town and even out-of-state papers) is used by 235 of the 284 police departments responding to this question. Other routine recruiting devices reported included: notices on school bulletin boards, 140; radio ads, 71; personal contacts with relatives, friends and acquaintances of police officers, 67; campaigns at local colleges and

universities, 64; brochures, 22; and employment and unemployment commissions, 12.

Many police departments reported other ways to gain the attention of possible police officer candidates. A New Jersey department said it has been starting new men at \$5,761, two steps above the minimum beginning salary of \$5,300, in order to step up recruitment. Chicago, Los Angeles and other cities send officers to high school career days; Oakland, Calif., sends recruiting notices nationwide to colleges and universities which have police science programs; Wichita, Kans., puts recruiting posters in shop windows and uses printed notices on utility bills; Richmond, Va., sends notices to military installations aimed at men ready for discharge; Baltimore tries to spur recruiting by offering five days extra leave to every officer who brings in a recruit.

New York, Houston and Washington make use of recruiting teams who head out of town—and sometimes into other states—to hunt for recruits. Sometimes even the written and physical exams are given by these roving teams.

While the NLC survey did not ask questions about police recruit written and physical examinations, it did endeavor to check into the methods employed to investigate the character of police applicants.

Most of the 283 police agencies responding to this question use at least four basic checks: city police record check, 279; character references supplied by the recruit, 278; FBI record check, 268; and county enforcement agency check, 225. (These same basic checks also are used in hiring civilian police personnel. A polygraph check of new police applicants was reported by only 24 per cent (68) of the agencies. Psychiatric examinations were used by 75 police departments, or 27 per cent. A handful of departments also reported checks of candidates' credit records.

A high school diploma (or its equivalent) has become almost the standard pre-entry educational requirement of urban police departments nationwide. The NLC survey showed 92.6 per cent (or 260) of

the 281 responding agencies used this yardstick to help judge its applicants. Another 1.4 per cent (4) of the departments required at least some college credit of its new officer candidates. These four departments—all in California—are Inglewood (20 college credit units required), Palo Alto (1 year of college), San Jose and Sunnyvale (both 2 years of college). The Bloomington, Minn., police reported its department plans this year to ask that its present 1-year educational requirement be raised to one year of college.

On the other end of the educational prerequisites scale, however, the survey revealed that 17 police departments (6 per cent) of those responding still will accept less than 12 years of formal schooling or equivalent. And five of these 17 said they had no formal educational prerequisites for prospective police recruits. Four of these five departments are in cities over 50,000 population. In several of these cities, state law prohibits the establishment of a minimum educational requirement for police officers. They often give their written exams for high school graduates, however.

Once accepted by the police department, most recruits (70 or 26 per cent) of the 269 agencies responding to this phase of the survey reported using training programs of over 12 weeks in length for the recruits. Only 8 agencies, or 3 per cent, reported a formal period of recruit training. Others responded this way to training period length: one to two weeks, 24 (9 per cent); three to four weeks, 33 (12 per cent); five to six weeks, 51 (19 per cent); seven to eight weeks, 37 (14 per cent); nine to 10 weeks, (7 per cent); and 11 to 12 weeks, 28 (10 per cent).

Recruit training usually is conducted at several locations during a rookie police officer's initiation in law enforcement. Of the 281 agencies responding to this question, 180 used local police academies, 14 used on-the-job training, 45 sent recruits to state police academies, 27 to sectional schools, and 20 to county police academies.

But recruit training instructors in most cities still

## WHAT NEW TECHNIQUES, PROCEDURES OR EQUIPMENT HAVE BEEN ADOPTED TO COMBAT CRIME?

(Number of cities responding to each)

	Portable Radio For Foot Patrol	165		Decoy Squads	40
	Electronic Data Processing Equipment	82		Closed Circuit TV	10
	K-9 Corps	79		Polygraph (Lie-Detector)	10
	Electronic Eavesdropping Equipment	68		Improved Communications	8

re employed only part-time in that capacity, the survey showed. Only 32 per cent (or 85) of the 262 departments answering the question reported their instructors worked on a full-time basis. Recruit instructors apparently aren't too hard to find, however. Only 23 per cent of the agencies responding said they had a shortage of police instructors.

"What additional courses might be added to improve your recruit training program?" was one of the questions the survey asked. The answers reflected the growing awareness of the importance of community relations when 27 agencies said they could use courses in human relations, 13 wanted classes in crowd control and 13 thought the addition of public speaking courses would be helpful. Thirty-eight of the answering police

departments wanted additional courses on all subjects. Classes in report writing (13), first aid (5) and lab techniques (3) also were mentioned as possible areas for increased emphasis in the recruit training schedules.

Fully 95 per cent (or 269) of the responding agencies reported they offered in-service (regular, routine) training to their police officers at roll call (201) or classroom sessions (242) or both. In-service training sessions for police conducted by other city departments were not too frequently used in most cities, the survey showed. Fire departments conducted sessions for 63 reporting police departments, health agencies in 37, city attorneys in 10 and mental health bureaus in 9.

## Law enforcement's professional growth spurred by specialized training and college courses

In the field of specialized training programs in all phases of police work, 81 per cent of the 279 departments responding reported they conducted their own classes. But most departments also make use of training programs run by other law enforcement agencies. In fact, the survey showed that more city and town police departments (258) send their officers to FBI schools than conduct their own classes (225). A close runner-up proved to be colleges and universities which often conduct special training programs for police officers. Seventy-four per cent (207) of the police agencies enrolled their officers in such classes. Training programs conducted by state law enforcement agencies drew men from 162 urban police departments while county-run courses attracted officers from 60 city and town departments. Eighty-eight departments sent their men to other city police training programs and 99 used treasury Department classes.

While the course list in specialized training programs resembles that of recruit training in its variety, some of the topics receiving particular attention in these advanced courses included crowd and riot control, marksmanship, advanced criminal investigation and command and leadership training. Many police departments reported they would like to see more specialized training offered in administrative procedures, data processing, criminal law and college-level police courses.

Attendance at these specialized training schools is high, the NLC survey showed. Only 19 per cent of the responding police departments failed to send any officers to these courses during the previous year. And while 51 per cent of the departments said they sent up to one-quarter of their entire force to specialized classes, another 13 per cent reported over three-quarters of their officers enrolled.

For many police departments with manpower shortages, however, trying to mesh training schedules with day-to-day operations can be a chore. As one official of a department in a medium-sized Midwest city put it: "The big problem is how to put on a school and still keep adequate manpower in service. Cities hesi-

tate to pay men to attend schools (refresher type) and giving them compensatory time off only complicates an already acute manpower shortage."

But somehow most departments manage to do it and usually come up with the funds to pay the bill, too. Over 95 per cent of all reporting departments paid participating officers their travel and living expenses when special classes took them out of town and 99 per cent paid their men regular salary during the classes. When special training occurs during officers' off-duty hours, 64 per cent of the reporting departments said they paid them or gave them compensatory time off. Payment for course tuition or registration costs was reported by 84 per cent of the departments.

How do police officers benefit from attendance at these specialized training schools? Ninety police departments out of 279 reported they made the successful completion of such courses a prerequisite for promotion, 88 as a requirement for transfer to special units, and 30 as a prerequisite for a salary boost.

While specialized police training plays a big role in the professional development of nearly all police departments, a real trend is developing in the field of higher education for law enforcement officers. The NLC survey showed 155 (54 per cent) of the 284 agencies answering the questionnaire reported 4,482 of their officers attending local colleges or universities during the last 12 months. Although police administration (with 135 replies) led the field in college subjects specialized in by the officers, psychology ran a close second with 103 mentions. Other college courses popular with policemen included: sociology (97 mentions), law (84), English (63), statistics (35), and political science (16).

Half of the participating departments in the survey reported that special education programs had been established in cooperation with local colleges or universities and 70 per cent of the departments said they encouraged their officers to get college credit or work for a degree. (Houston encourages its officers to take courses at the University of Houston through a credit plan worked out with the school. Each graduate of

the city's police academy automatically is given 20 hours credit at the university toward a bachelor's degree in police administration.) Two-year Associate in Arts (A.A.) degrees in law enforcement, police science or police administration are often granted by many of the cooperating schools. But many of the officers also are pointing toward Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) or Bachelor of Science (B.S.) degrees. A few even were reported working toward their master's or doctorates.

Particularly in California, where the junior college movement has mushroomed since World War II, police officers are taking advantage of going to school part-time to earn their degrees. Downey, Calif., for instance, reported 60 of its 85 police officers attended

college courses last year. Salinas, Calif., said 68 of 71 employees were enrolled; San Diego, 200 of 7 Pomona, 50 of 88; and Pasadena, over 100 of 175.

But the higher education bug isn't limited to California policemen. The trend is nationwide. In New York City, for example, 1,350 of its 26,764 police officers took college courses last year. Tulsa, Okla. reported 123 of its 279-man force enrolled; Raleigh, N.C., 25 of 144; Edina, Minn., 6 of 26; Independence, Mo., 10 of 77; and Port Arthur, Texas, 30 of 76.

But the NLC survey showed that while 70 per cent of police departments encouraged officers to take college courses, only 7 per cent said college graduates receive preference for promotions, and only 2 per cent reported they gave preference pay raises.

## New technology and techniques enthusiastically accepted by majority of urban police agencies

Technological advances in communications and data storage and retrieval are beginning to have far reaching effects on the ability of urban police departments to cope with crime. The NLC Police Survey reveals a growing acceptance of these new devices and techniques among agencies of all sizes.

By far the most popular technological advance is the lightweight portable radio carried by foot patrolmen in 165 (58 percent) of the reporting departments. These small radios enable headquarters or officers in patrol cars to keep in constant voice communication with officers on foot. They aid in keeping better control of stakeout operations and special events. The Paterson, N.J., department reported all of its foot patrolmen carry transistorized three-way radios. And Chief Henry J. Magruder of the Meriden, Conn., department said: "We wouldn't be without the portable radios for foot patrol. We like them and the men like them."

The St. Petersburg, Fla., department has taken the portable radios a step further and at the same time harked back to police patrols of the 1890s. Said a St. Petersburg police official: "Three 2-man teams patrol the business district at night on bicycle, using portable radios. This has proven very effective; (they) can make rounds much faster and quieter."

Most police officials evidently feel the advantages of the portable radios far outweigh these handicaps mentioned by a southern police official: limited range, expense, and the frequent need for fresh batteries.

Second in popularity to the handy radios for foot patrolmen was the increased use of electronic data processing (EDP) equipment for easier storage and quicker retrieval of information vitally needed in day-to-day operations. Twenty-nine per cent (82) of the responding police agencies said they already are using EDP equipment and many more said they soon plan to install it. Chicago credited a combination of EDP, canine units, and decoy squads as having helped decrease the city's crime rate 3 per cent in 1963 and 5 per cent in 1964 while the national crime rate was going up 10 per cent during the same period.

Asked if they were satisfied with their data retrieval methods, 105 (39 per cent) of the replying agencies said "no." Most of these departments evidently were included in the 129 which said EDP equipment could improve their data handling procedures. Also in the group of 129 were some cities already EDP-equipped but which are eyeing even more sophisticated systems for the future. Some cities, like Richmond, Va., expressed interest in the establishment of statewide law enforcement information system using EDP equipment. Such a system already is planned for New York State to link 3,636 state and local police, correction, probation, parole and court agencies by August 1967.

Among other relatively new crime-fighting techniques mentioned by departments answering the NLC questionnaire were: canine corps, 79; electronic eavesdropping equipment, 68; decoy squads, 40; closed circuit television, 10; polygraph (lie detector), 10; improved communications, 8; new cameras, 31; helicopters, 2.

Other techniques mentioned included motor scooters for patrol purposes, establishment of tactical forces and the use of saturation coverage of high crime incident areas. Kansas City, Mo., reported good success in combatting armed robberies with its "Operation Barrier," a city-wide alert plan for major crimes. The department also participates in the Area Metropolitan Squad composed of more than 120 officers from some 40 area law enforcement agencies in a five-county area of Missouri and Kansas. The special squad is activated when major crimes are committed in its coverage zone. Portsmouth, Va., reported the formation of a crime clinic which includes all local police agencies and meets once a month to discuss problems and exchange information. The clinic "has resulted in making some good catches," Police Chief H. P. Crowe reported.

Regular and continuous interchange of criminal intelligence with other law enforcement agencies is followed by 95 per cent of the surveyed departments. The highest degree of cooperation in this field (91 per cent) was with other municipal departments. Regular information exchange with county agencies was mentioned by 85 per cent of the cities taking part in the survey.

NLC survey; with state police, 84 per cent; and with federal agencies, 56 per cent. (In a related field of criminal intelligence, 69 per cent of the departments said they had funds available to purchase information from informers.)

Ninety-eight per cent of 225 agencies responding said their use of new crime-fighting techniques and equipment had proved effective. Mount Vernon, N.Y., for example, said 90 per cent of its bookmaking arrests resulted from the use of electronic eavesdropping equipment. And only last month, a closed circuit TV system that keeps an eye on the cell block in Nassau County (N.Y.) police headquarters was credited with stopping a suicide by a jail inmate.

Several police departments, however, expressed some dissatisfaction with their K-9 Corps operations. The Paterson, N.J., department said it had eliminated the division and a Savannah, Ga., police official said on the NLC questionnaire: "Canines have not proven themselves; therefore, they were reduced to two handlers."

## **Police communications field alive with change; 31% more radio frequencies will be needed in 5 years**

The increased use of improved radio communications already has forced many police departments to use more radio frequencies than have been assigned for police work, the NLC survey revealed. Although the 282 police departments answering this question reported they had 721 radio frequencies assigned (or 2.5 per agency), they were actually using 100 more (for an average of 2.9 per agency). But in the next five years, these agencies reported, they will need a 31 per cent increase in radio frequencies used or a total of 258 more. This would bring the per agency average up to 3.8.

This growing need for more radio frequencies becomes evident when the NLC survey question on methods of communications is examined. All reporting departments reported using radio-equipped patrol cars and 58 per cent are using portable radios for foot patrolmen.

Keeping in contact with other law enforcement agencies by radio also has grown (although, of course, much use is still made of teletype and telephone). Seventy per cent of the responding agencies have radio links with neighboring municipal departments, 66 per cent with county forces and 64 per cent with state police departments.

The call box still plays a significant role in headquarters' contacts with patrolmen on foot (54 per cent) and with officers in patrol cars who stop to call in (39 per cent). Teletype links with other police agencies also are important, the survey showed. Of the reporting departments, 66 per cent used teletype systems connected to other municipalities, 47 per cent to neighboring counties and 64 per cent to state police. Thus most police departments use a combination of

## **MAJOR COMPLAINTS AGAINST POLICE OFFICERS**

(Number of responses in order of frequency)

1. <b>Discourtesy</b>	117
2. <b>Strictness in handing out traffic citations</b>	54
3. <b>Brutality</b>	34
4. <b>Slowness in responding to service calls</b>	12
5. <b>Failure to pay personal bills</b>	9

(Some police departments listed more than one answer)

radio, call box, teletype and telephone to maintain rapid communications with its officers.

The NLC survey showed an unusually fast average response time to calls from citizens. The largest number of answers from 49 per cent of the departments indicated it took officers an average of between four and five minutes to reach the scene of a call. And 32 per cent said the time lag between call and response was two to three minutes. Only 16 per cent said the average elapsed time was more than five minutes.

Asked how this call response time could be cut even more, most (152) of the departments recommended the use of more patrol vehicles and men. Eighty suggested reducing the size of the patrol district and 23 believed their response time could not be improved.

In a separate section of the NLC survey, the departments were asked if they operated their own hold-over facility or jail. Eighty-five per cent (or 242) said "yes." Of those who answered "no," most said their prisoners were held by county jails. Only 45 agencies said they used civilian jailers. Half said they had separate detention areas for juveniles but only 5 per cent said they kept first offenders away from other prisoners.

For the most part, the departments reported most of their prisoners remained in jail only until they could be tried (82 per cent). Only 41 departments said the prisoners' average jail stay was between one and three months and only 3 reported average terms over seven months. Fifty-four per cent of the agencies said they had a work program for prisoners.

The need for more modern jail facilities for many police departments was indicated when 33 per cent of the responding agencies said their jails were not adequate to meet the needs of their communities.

## **News of court decisions affecting beat officer filters down to him through variety of channels**

The popular press often has characterized the police officer's biggest problem as stemming from adverse court decisions that make his detection and apprehension responsibilities difficult. However, only 50 respondents to the NLC survey reported that crime prevention and law enforcement could best be promoted in their communities by remaking recent court decisions.

Survey questions were directed to determine how police officers receive information about court decisions that affect their enforcement and apprehension duties. Of the 284 agencies replying, only 15 indicated that officers were not regularly kept informed of recent court decisions. Of those 266 agencies reporting that officers were kept informed of current decisions on a regular basis, 192 utilize bulletins and departmental memoranda, 83 rely on in-service training programs, 64 have officers give oral reports at roll-call and 14 post notices on the bulletin board. Many departments utilize more than one method of keeping officers informed.

Few of the police departments participating in the survey—less than 5 per cent—reported that they have full or part-time attorneys on their staffs to advise them of new legal developments in the field of law enforcement and to provide them with other forms of legal advice. Eight agencies reported they employed

full-time lawyers, and six reported they had part-time attorneys to keep their departments informed.

Most of the respondents—276—reported that they rely on the city attorney's office for legal advise and assistance. Other legal offices or departments named in the survey were: State's Attorney (47), County Attorney (124), Solicitor (17), United States District Attorney (3), and municipal judge (1).

It is interesting to note, however, that 117 agencies reported that the police do not have regular conferences with prosecutors or judicial officers regarding new legal developments and law enforcement practices. One hundred sixty-four (58 per cent) indicated that such conferences were held, and three agencies did not report

Approximately 88 per cent of the respondents reported that they seek and receive legal advice on the validity of warrants and documents (242), evidence gathered by interrogation (244) and evidence gathered by investigation (252). Forty-five agencies indicated that they receive legal advice on court procedures, and eleven indicated that legal advice related to the policy of arrest. On the last point, however, it can be assumed that most of the agencies reporting seek advice on the policy of arrest, but receive it in the form of advice on the validity of warrants and documents and evidence gathered by interrogation and investigation.

## **Getting along with the public assumes bigger role in police efforts to crack wall of public apathy**

✓ Community relations—formal and informal—are playing an increasingly important role in the daily operations of urban police departments.

And the need for even closer rapport between the average citizen and the police officer was shown in the answers police officials gave to the NLC survey questionnaire section dealing with how well their departments get along with the general public.

Only 21 of the 271 police departments answering the question characterized their community's view of the police officer as "excellent." The vast majority—215—thought their citizens looked upon their police officers as "good" while 27 listed "acceptable" and 8 "poor." Several reported their citizens looked upon police officers as a "necessary evil."

While 207 of the departments responding said they have special programs to inform the public about the difficulties or complexities of law enforcement and 236 said they have information programs dealing with how citizens can take precautionary measures to prevent criminal attack, more in the way of public information needs to be done, the police officials indicated. Seattle, for example, said a recent survey showed 68 per cent of commercial and residential burglaries resulted from unlocked doors. And more than half of the stolen cars had the keys left in them.

Asked how crime prevention and law enforcement could best be promoted in their communities, 162 agencies answered "public cooperation" while 157 said "public education." The other answers to this question are the expected ones but fall far behind the number of responses given to the need for more public cooperation and education. The other replies: training, 71; more officers, 69; court decisions, 50; better pay, 41; and modern equipment, 36.

In trying to pinpoint main causes of friction between citizens and the police, the survey asked specifically what public criticisms of the police departments or individual police officers were the most common.

The answers were somewhat surprising. According to 117 top police officials, courtesy was the most common complaint. Handling of traffic citations was next with 54 replies, followed by police brutality (34) and poor response time on emergency calls (12). Citizen complaints often run in cycles. One California chief commented dryly: "Undue force seems to be stylish at the present time."

In trying to improve their departments' image with the public and to make the average citizen more aware of the war on crime, cities participating in the survey

outlined a wide variety of methods and programs being used.

Fully 94 per cent said they conducted programs aimed at encouraging young people to respect law and order and the work of police. Seventy-six per cent responding said they had programs under way to improve communications with minority groups. Programs conducted by police personnel to provide recreation, guidance and/or assistance were under way in 79 per cent of the communities for juveniles, in 36 per cent for alcoholics, and in 36 per cent for estranged families.

Some of the ways the police departments used to carry out community relations programs included: talks to civic and other groups, 241; newspaper campaigns, 180; leaflets and brochures, 176; radio and television programs, 78; tours, 17; exhibits, 14; and films, 10.

The direction of these programs, however, apparently was principally handled by line or administrative officers assuming them as extra duties. For only 84 of the police agencies reported using public relations officers to conduct them. This relatively low 30 per cent use of PR officers could point to a future growth in the field of police community and public relations staff.

## **Handling citizen complaints against policemen still largely an internal affair in most agencies**

In the handling of civilian complaints against police officers, 114 agencies reported using special officers or units primarily responsible for following up on such complaints while 191 (including some of those with special complaint investigative personnel) routed them to the proper department head for follow-up. In 90 police departments, other means were used to check out complaints against officers, including a handful of civilian review boards but mostly a review by the police chief and in some cases by the city manager.

Police handling of citizen complaints came under scrutiny by the McCone Commission investigating the causes of the Watts riots in Los Angeles last summer. The commission noted that existing procedures for handling citizen complaints were "not sufficiently visible to or understood by the public." While the police department could be disposing of these citizen complaints in the most judicious manner possible (and the commission did not charge that the department was not), the public had no way of really knowing or observing this judicious handling.

To correct this, the commission recommended setting up the post of inspector general in the department under the authority of the police chief but outside the chain of command. He would investigate and make recommendations for disposing of all citizen complaints. "The inspector general's investigations can be visible to the public," the commission said. "He would report to the chief of police, and his findings and recommendations on all complaints would be the basis for the chief's report to the board (of police commissioners) on all such complaints."

The commission also had some suggestions for improved community-police relations programs. These programs, the commission said, "serve to prevent crime and, in the opinion of this commission, crime prevention is a responsibility of the police department equal in importance to law enforcement." Some of the suggested programs include more intensive in-service human relations training programs for police officers, youth programs, and periodic open forums and workshops in which the police and residents of minority communities will engage in discussions of law enforcement. It also proposed more frequent contact between police and students in junior and senior high schools.

Many of the cities participating in the NLC survey already have programs similar to those suggested by the McCone Commission.

Houston, for example, encourages civic and non-profit groups to use police buildings and assembly rooms—complete with displays and posters—for their regular meetings. Many police departments—Lubbock, Tex., Torrance, Calif., and Honolulu among them—sponsor Little League baseball teams and other sports activities for youngsters. Torrance—and a number of other cities—support auto clubs in an effort to channel youthful enthusiasm for cars into constructive channels. New Haven is forming a police-community relations institute. Edina, Minn. reports its experimental police-school counseling team already has proven of value in dealing with juvenile problems.

"The greatest handicap to effective policing today is public apathy," Richmond, Va., Chief John M. Wright said in the NLC questionnaire. "The informed chief of police must recognize this fact and must use every method and avenue of approach to seek and gain the support of the public in all law enforcement endeavors." A fellow Virginia chief, Col. H. P. Crowe of Portsmouth, added:

"Citizens must realize that it is better to be involved as a witness today than as a victim tomorrow."

A number of departments have established awards to recognize citizens who aid the police. Kansas City, Mo., for example, recently established such a program. The citizen who helps the police is presented with an engraved plaque and personally commended by the Board of Police Commissioners.

But sometimes such commendation efforts backfire as in the recent case of a New York City grocer who lost his store and most of his savings after he helped a policeman threatened by an angry mob last spring. First hailed as a hero, Enrique Negron's neighbors then turned on him and boycotted his store because he helped the police. (His neighbors recently had a change of heart after newspapers publicized his plight.)

Chicago has mounted a massive "Operation Crime Stop" campaign to increase public cooperation with the police. Through all the mass media, Chicagoans are urged to call the police emergency number whenever they see or hear something suspicious and they can remain anonymous if they wish.

## **Positive progress can be noted but further steps will eventually require more persons' concern**

While the National League of Cities' Police Survey produced few startling results, it did serve to reveal more fully the extent of some of the deep-rooted ailments which afflict most American police departments and hamper them in their work.

It's easy enough to use the findings to draw up a balance sheet of strong and weak aspects of today's urban law enforcement organization picture.

More difficult is the task of allocating responsibility for these weaknesses. In some cases poor police administration can be blamed; in others, something less than a full commitment from elected municipal officials to the cause of improved local law enforcement can be cited; and, in still others, the apathetic public can be accused of ignoring the real needs of their police officers which they—as taxpayers—would have to pay for.

The city hall and police headquarters official as well as the concerned citizen, therefore, might consider this brief review of some of the more disturbing findings of the NLC Police Survey:

- The extent of police department understaffing. Almost two-thirds of the agencies reported being under their authorized strengths and only 7 per cent indicated their staff authorizations were adequate.
- Relatively low starting and maximum salaries for police officers. Forty-eight per cent of the reporting departments have top salaries of under \$6,000 a year, well below what a skilled construction worker might earn annually.
- Almost a quarter of all the responding departments have recruit training programs of four weeks or even less.
- The public image of police officers needs polishing—mostly by the officers themselves. The most frequent complaint against officers mentioned by police chiefs answering the survey was "courtesy."
- Many police departments still waste manpower by assigning uniformed officers to tasks not directly related to crime fighting. Some activities could be stopped or transferred to other municipal departments by city hall action.
- Forty-two per cent of the responding agencies reported they did not have regular conferences with prosecutors or judicial officers regarding new legal developments and law enforcement practices.
- While encouraging their men to take college courses and to work for higher degrees, the vast majority of police departments do not give preference to college graduates in promotions or salary increases.
- A third of the departments' jails are inadequate to meet their communities' needs.

### **But the survey also showed these encouraging trends in urban law enforcement development:**

- The readiness of most police departments to try new technologies and techniques. Improved communications, such as the portable radio for foot patrolmen, and the rapidly expanding use of electronic data proc-

essing equipment and other devices show the modern sweep of law enforcement on the municipal level.

- Increased emphasis on specialized training at college-level courses for officers.
- Better cooperation between municipal police departments and other law enforcement agencies.
- Willingness on the part of many cities to undertake independent studies of their police administrative and organizational procedures and to carry out the recommendations once the studies are finished.
- The recognition of the need for more public relations programs to gain support for law enforcement goals, and the progress by many departments in establishing such programs.

Thus, there are signs that municipal police departments are making progress in their professional competence and administrative procedures. This comes at a time when law enforcement efforts must come to grips not only with rising crime rates but also the complexities of providing full protection under the law to all citizens.

In many ways, the latter responsibility is a gray area virtually uncharted. As higher court decisions have served to fill in some details of the police agency's responsibilities, there have been some official and civil complaints. But this is not, the survey shows, as widespread as many might believe.

There is clearly much greater public concern over crime rates. And this prompts the hope that more grassroots support for improved staffing and salary levels will be forthcoming.

Last year, for the first time, a substantial federal involvement in local police departments became possible with passage of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act. It promises aid in researching new means of crime detection, criminal apprehension, and correction. It also offers training assistance to law enforcement personnel. On the other hand, the Act specifically prohibits the Federal Government from taking over the task of local law officers.

In his State of the Union Message last month, President Johnson referred to this measure, saying, "I am determined to take whatever further steps are necessary to combat crime," and he announced an 89 per cent increase in funds for the program next year.

But increased funds, larger staffs, and sophisticated equipment will not curb crime substantially without a citizenry which attaches great importance to this goal. When all people, through words and actions, understand that they share a vital, personal role in law enforcement, the gray areas will become clearer.

■ **REPRINTS** of "Municipal Law Enforcement, 1966" may be obtained for 50 cents a copy (\$25 per 100, \$175 per 1,000) from **NATION'S CITIES Reprint Service, 1612 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.** Please enclose payment with your order.

# "POLICE CHIEFS SPEAK"

Department Heads  
Comment on  
Issues They Face

Perhaps the most interesting section of the NLC survey questionnaire was the last. Police chiefs were invited to comment on what they believed should be done to promote law enforcement and prevent crime.

Here are some of their comments:

"It is most imperative that the rights of the law-abiding citizens be given at least the same respect and consideration as that given law breakers . . . only stern action in our courts based on sound legislation involving a philosophy of making the punishment fit the crime can offer to the people the protection they so richly deserve. Nothing discourages or disheartens law enforcement officers more than a knowledge that their efforts in apprehending criminals are too often no more than useless expenditures of time and money. And, I hasten to add, it is most difficult to follow the reasoning of some who seem bent on changing our whole judicial structure in order to mollify the criminal element."—Police Chief Willie Bauer, Beaumont, Texas.

\* \* \*

"Crime prevention could best be promoted by a meaningful and purposeful community coordinating council, one that acts at the 'grassroots' or neighborhood or precinct level. (These councils) should have a definite program of education and recreation for delinquency-prone youngsters. Police can best help by early discovery of the pre-delinquent. Law enforcement can best be served by better communications with the public by making them aware of our problems and showing concern and helping to solve their problems. Every act of a policeman must be oriented to better public relations,"—Chief John O'Brien, Paterson, N. J.

"Whether it be this community or some other . . . of the same population grouping, a continuous pilot project . . . which would study all phases and all aspects of the police administration, operations, planning and research (should be undertaken). This should probably be done in the two major types of community within (each) population group: the central core type city and the suburban type community, since the problems are different.

"These cities could then be used as the experimental cities in each group. New techniques could be tried out. The results of the experiment would be published as each phase was completed and other communities of the same population group would receive the information or special seminars (for chiefs of police) could be held on a regional basis. A total program could be developed much the same as in an agricultural experimental station. I sincerely believe that this should be a practical program for future police development."—Director of Public Safety Wayne W. Bennett, Edina, Minn.

\* \* \*

"There is no doubt that lack of uniform, intensive training on a statewide basis is hampering the battle against crime and public safety violations. I believe that law enforcement on the local level is the best kind, but due to the lack of funds and facilities, training at this level is not adequate. A state training academy made available to all officers would best aid us in crime prevention and law enforcement in our community."—Assistant Chief Ray Brisnehan, Westminster, Colo.

\* \* \*

"We constantly ask ourselves 'what more can we do?' Hopefully, as the programs already begun—to stimulate better police-community relations, to attack poverty, unemployment, poor housing, illiteracy, and discrimination—begin to show effect, we will see that somewhere in our efforts we have either struck the heart of the problem or filtered into all of its veins."—Inspector Jerry V. Wilson, Washington, D. C.

\* \* \*

"Crime prevention is always stimulated with successful enforcement. The latter (is) becoming more intricate and difficult each day. For those charged with this responsibility, their ranks must be filled with the best talent available. This can only be accomplished by promoting law enforcement on a uniform scale to a professional level.

"Like science and education, these professions remained dormant until a national need was recognized. Then, when prestige and gain increased, the talent became available. No profession can sustain itself on the minority who are dedicated. Talent is just as important as dedication, and law enforcement must have this depth.

"Thus, a probable start on a local level would be to increase our public relations and acquaint society with this need. Recent studies show the tragic truth to be a trend in the opposite direction."—Detective Capt. Earl Gordon, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

## EDITORIAL: Aid for Law Enforcement

**A** UNIFORM, badge, and gun are no longer sufficient to qualify a person as a law enforcement officer. While current headlines blare accounts of widespread disregard of law and order, today's social unrest is but one aspect of the different setting in which local police forces must operate. Population growth and mobility and technological change must also be considered. We believe that the rapidly changing urban scene makes it imperative that police competence be upgraded—even as the effectiveness of law enforcement be sustained in the face of frequently unsubstantiated charges of "police brutality."

As part of the required nationwide effort to improve local efforts, the National League of Cities urges Congress to enact the Law Enforcement Act of 1965. This bill, "to provide assistance in training state and local law enforcement officers . . . and in improving capabilities, techniques, and practices," will have its greatest impact within municipalities.

It is plain that local government is shouldering the major part of the law enforcement burden in the United States today. While municipalities spent some \$1.5 billion in 1963 to enforce both state and local criminal and traffic laws, states spent only about \$320 million in 1964 on law enforcement.

The Law Enforcement Act, of course, is not even remotely designed to assume responsibility in this area. It states, "Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision or control over the organization, administration or personnel of any States or local police force or other law enforcement agency." Rather, the Act is aimed at improving the quality of programs and personnel. The \$10 million it authorizes for studies, training programs, and demonstrations would make money available in a vital field where far too little emphasis has been placed.

TRYING DESPERATELY to stem the rising criminal tide, local law enforcement programs have received precious little assistance from state governments. Money for conducting special projects is not available locally. The Law Enforcement Assistance Act could

finance new approaches. With such federal participation, these projects and programs could also foster a general raising of this country's law enforcement standards in city, county, and state.

WHAT KIND OF projects might qualify for federal financial assistance? Nashville's Mayor C. Beverly Briley gave a Senate subcommittee some examples:

1. Special training programs such as those undertaken by California's Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training. These training programs, properly developed and financed, would have the effect of improving the skills of the rookie police officer before he undertakes his duties. These programs would also keep more experienced officers up-to-date on new law enforcement techniques and practices.

2. Experiments with better lighting and the use of electronic equipment in high crime areas. Public works officials have found they can use television to inspect underground facilities, but the impact of the use of closed circuit television in high crime-rate areas has received only limited testing.

3. Some larger police departments have been able to use computers to free police officers from administrative drudgery, but medium-sized and small cities lack the resources to experiment with the use of such equipment. A federal grant to a group of police departments in metropolitan area would indicate the value of computer technology for smaller departments.

4. Local officials would like to develop imaginative solutions to the repeater problem, especially with regard to the minor crimes. Municipal court dockets are overburdened with cases brought against the chronic neophyte, vagrant, and traffic violator. Municipal judges have been innovators in this area, but nationwide experimental programs to overcome this repeater problem must be undertaken.

AS FURTHER legislative action in Washington underscores mounting public concern over law enforcement, the view of NLC's new Law Enforcement Committee bears quoting: "Preservation of law and order is the only base from which society can proceed toward the achievement of those higher values which constitute a truly civilized society."—D.W.L.

## EDITORIAL: The Dilemmas of Law Enforcement

THE NCL SPECIAL REPORT on municipal law enforcement in this issue shows that our city police departments are making a respectable effort to cope with varied problems. Rising crime rates are an obvious part of the picture. But administrative problems—manpower, facilities, finances—also rank high. And perhaps fundamental is the predicament of the professional law enforcement official who devotes his career, often risking his own safety, to the protection of his fellow citizens only to receive—at best—a degree of toleration from his community and—at worst—vilification.

We think that the professionalism of municipal police departments has taken a sharp upturn in the past decade. We think the public ought to know more about this trend; it might inspire greater confidence. We also think that professional police officials are properly indignant when they are condemned for performing their responsibility of enforcing statutes with whatever resources are necessary to obtain compliance.

WHAT LIES AHEAD for law enforcement? Vastly more complicated issues, a greater involvement in crime prevention activities, much more use of advanced technology in detection and apprehension, and steady upgrading of administrative competence.

Underlying it all, however, is the need to develop a new relationship between the community at large and its duly-appointed law enforcement officials. We don't regard civilian review boards as serving much positive purpose. Many other approaches might be more constructive. They can be broadly based committees dealing with professional and technical aspects of law enforcement. They can be neighborhood programs to exchange experiences and outlooks between residents and police. They can be formal information programs to spur civic confidence and participation in the law enforcement process. As a matter of fact, our survey shows some municipalities are engaged in these and other efforts right now.

In short, this is a time when law enforcement is under a cloud. It may be trite to say, but only leadership will dispel this cloud. We need less wrangling, more courage, less smugness, more responsibility, to make every American secure in the belief that he is protected by the law, not persecuted by it.

At the national level, the President's Commission

on Crime can serve as a vehicle for leadership. But even such a responsible group must be able to overcome the limitations of conventional wisdom. In a dynamic area such as law enforcement, no one knows all the answers. Paralleling the work of this commission, the Law Enforcement Assistance Program, we hope, will accept many chances to encourage improved local public safety programs. Fortunately, the Federal government seems to recognize that higher standards cannot be adopted without careful analysis, and then only if funds are made available for the purpose.

IF LAW AND ORDER are to be maintained, our citizens must have confidence in the workings of American justice. We can't expect full obedience to the law when a community's behavior negates fundamental American freedoms.

How do we square the necessity of law and order with the obligation to serve each individual's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? This is the formula that we must develop and test, locally and nationally.

Law and order is a practical philosophy that has sustained much of our nation's heritage. But the equation has been broadened enormously: it must take into account equality before the law.

No respecter of wealth, education, or social origins, the law—if it is to serve the administration of justice and not simply force the individual's obedience to a community standard—must constantly undergo scrutiny. We should contribute to and act upon the widespread current examination of many aspects of the legal and judicial processes. There are studies of bail procedures, detention facilities, correctional programs, court docket backlogs, rights of the accused. Many a case, for example, hinges on the definition of crime or criminal conduct.

ULTIMATELY, OF COURSE, law enforcement rests upon a community's desires. Critics who do not recognize this add little to the discussion. The police department is simply an expression of the community; there are few police chiefs who continue on the job without the confidence and support of a city's top policymakers. And these policymakers, in turn, reflect what the community wants from its law enforcement officials. If the public wants to prosecute the war on crime more aggressively, it will have to give police departments a greater share of its esteem and funds. Both are essential.—D.W.L. ■

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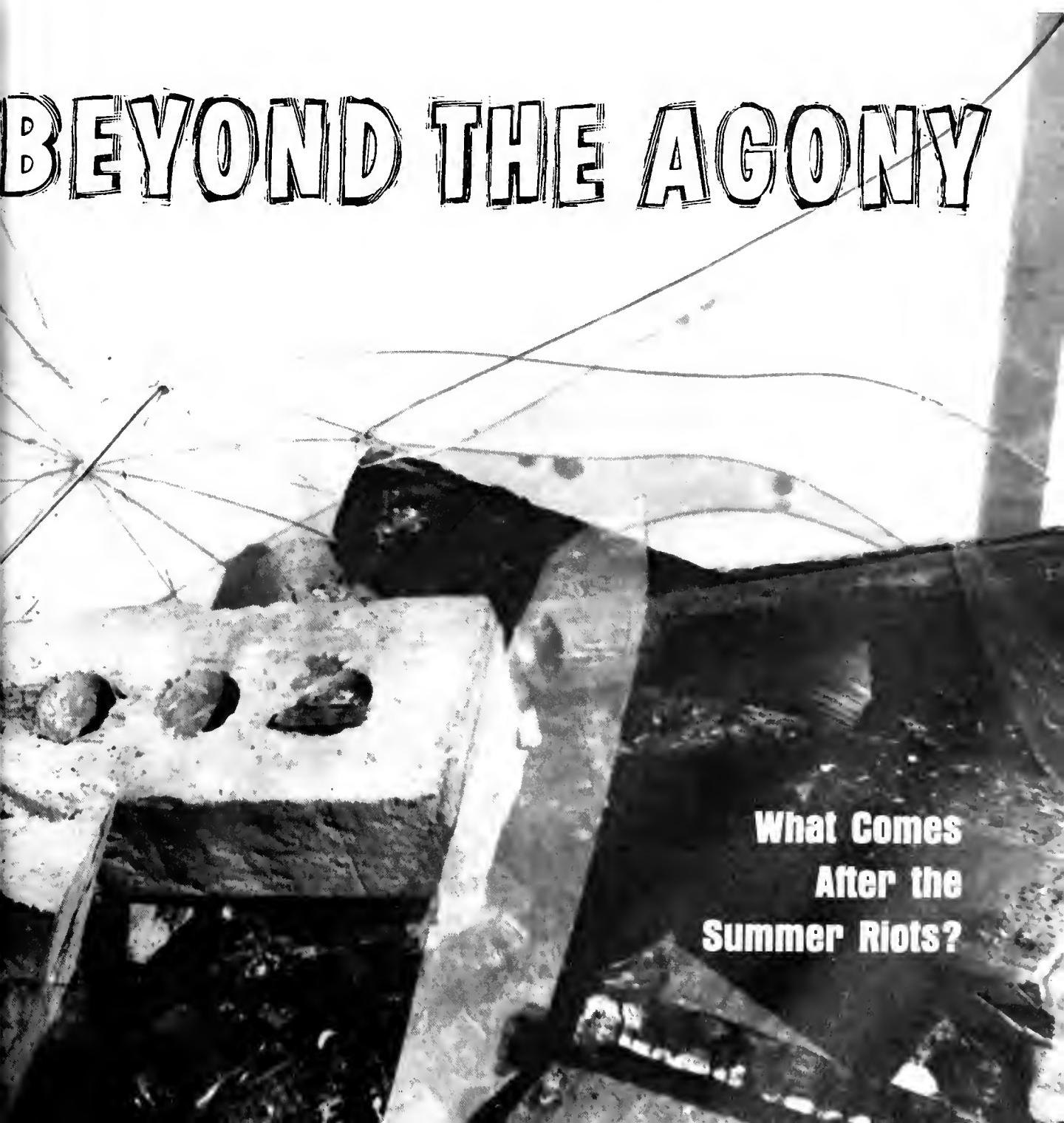
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*the magazine of the National League of Cities*

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## BEYOND THE AGONY



What Comes  
After the  
Summer Riots?

# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES

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The National League of Cities, through its affiliated State Municipal Leagues and direct membership of some 350 of the nation's largest cities, represents 14,000 municipal governments, large and small, in all 50 states in working toward the goals for better local government spelled out in its National Municipal Policy. The NLC provides legislative representation, conducts urban research, administers Town Affiliations (Sister Cities—a People-to-People Program) and serves as an information exchange through its annual meetings, publications, and inquiry service for member cities. It was founded in 1924 as the American Municipal Association.

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Excerpts from major speeches at the Boston Congress of Cities shed light on the 1967 urban tragedy

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An eminent social psychiatrist reports on a study into the riot attitudes of Negroes and whites

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The formation of a new alliance of private and public forces could prove a landmark for urban action

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Five elected Negro city officials discuss their views on future municipal service and political goals

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## EDITORIAL: A Way To Attack Rioting's Roots

Those terrible days in July—the sudden appearance, as from the bosom of the earth, of a most infuriated and degraded mob; the helplessness of property owners and the better classes; the boom of cannon and rattle of musketry in our streets; the sky lurid with conflagrations; the inconceivable barbarity and ferocity of the crowd . . . the immense destruction of property were the first dreadful revelations to many of our people of the existence among us of a great, ignorant, irresponsible class who were growing up without any permanent interest in the welfare of the community, of the success of the government . . . of the gradual formation of this class and the dangers to be feared from it, the agents of this society have incessantly warned the public for the past 11 years.

THIS DESCRIPTION of whites rioting in New York in 1863 could be of Newark or Detroit or of a dozen other American cities in which rioting erupted this past summer. Daniel P. Moynihan, who is director of the MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, states that the rioting in Detroit and other cities was begun and probably largely continued by young persons who could be described as "urban underclass." They happen in this case to be Negro. And yet, in its first annual report, dated 1854, the Children's Aid Society of New York had predicted the formation of such a class among the white immigrants of the city:

It should be remembered that there are no dangers to the value of property or to the permanency of our institutions so great as those from the existence of such a class of vagabond, ignorant, and ungoverned children. This dangerous class has not begun to show itself as it will in eight or 10 years when these boys and girls are matured. Those who were too negligent or too selfish to notice them as children will be fully aware of them as men. They will poison society. They will perhaps be embittered at the wealth and the luxuries they never share. Then let society beware, when the outcast, vicious, reckless multitude of New York boys, swarming now in every foul alley and low street come to know their power and use it.

A decade or so ago, Moynihan says, we began to see the formation of a Negro version of this class growing up in our northern cities. We did little or nothing about it.

Moynihan points out that the basic conditions that would appear necessary for the formation of such a class have clearly existed in our cities for a generation now. "First and uppermost," he says, "is unemploy-

ment. The Depression has never ended for the slum Negro.

"To unemployment add low wages, add miserable housing, add vicious and pervasive forms of racial discrimination, compound it all with an essentially destructive welfare system, and a social scientist would have every ground on which to predict violence in this violent country."

The "destructive welfare system" he refers to primarily the miserable Federal Aid to Dependent Children program, which has at some time supported something like six out of every 10 Negro youths reaching 18. This probably accounts for the steady deterioration of family structure in low-income neighborhoods. Probably not more than a third of the children of low-income Negro families now 18 years old have lived all their lives with both parents.

"Breakdown in family relations among poor persons is a pretty good clue that an underclass is forming," according to Moynihan. With something like one New York City child in five living on welfare, Dr. Mitchell Ginsberg of the Lindsay administration this summer declared the system "bankrupt."

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT is right now in the process of being overhauled by the U.S. Congress, not by its Labor and Public Welfare Committees, but by its tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee and Senate Finance Committee. It retains the old welfare concept of Aid to Dependent Children, which encourages the break-up of families—if the father leaves the household, the mother then becomes eligible for relief for the children. Too many people, including members of Congress, seem to associate the Social Security Act exclusively with insurance taxes for old age pensions and Medicare. Actually the Act has many other titles which have profound influence on our welfare programs, including the out-moded Aid to Dependent Children concept.

The opposite approach should be taken in this country to encourage permanent family formation among the poor, whose children should have the advantage of the experience of family discipline. Moynihan believes the best known way to do this is through a family (or children's) allowance and points out that the United States is the only industrial democracy in the world that does not have such a system of automatic payments to families who are raising minor children. These payments would have the advantage that everyone would get them, not just a special segment artificially defined as below a certain income level. It has worked well all over the world, including Canada. It needs serious consideration in America.—P.H.

# THE MAYORS SPEAK

Five municipal leaders  
give their views on the  
summer madness which struck  
America's urban areas

Source: Library  
of Congress Legislative  
Reference Service

Dots designate 85 cities  
which experienced sig-  
nificant civil disorders  
through September 20.

## HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

*Mayor Addonizio of Newark made this statement to the President's Commission on Civil Disorder on August 22.*

■ AMERICA IS NOT prepared to save its cities and the cities are not in a position to save themselves.

Now I believe generally Americans support equality for all and the elimination of poverty, but I believe also that they would vote the cities out of existence, if they could. For most Americans still do not understand that the problems of race, poverty, and the cities are inseparable, at least at this point in our history.

In fact, I believe an effective appeal to the American public on behalf of American cities is impossible and will remain so until many myths are cleared away.

Among the cruelest of myths are those which say that America is an urban nation; that middle class America has an interest in saving cities; and that the achievement of local political power by Negroes will cure poverty.

In fact, we are a suburban nation and will be more so in the future. Only

## JEROME P. CAVANAGH

*Mayor Cavanagh of Detroit wrote this article especially for NATION'S CITIES.*

■ MOST OF THE CITY was still asleep. It would be another two hours before alarm clocks would rouse thousands of households for Sunday worship. The weather for a few days past had been oppressively hot and muggy.

At approximately 5:30 on that Sunday morning, July 23, 1967, police drove up to a suspected blind pig at 12th and Clairmount in a predominantly Negro neighborhood on Detroit's west side.

Led by Tenth Precinct Sergeant Arthur Howiston, the raiders herded 73 Negro customers and a bartender into a paddy wagon and scout cars while a hostile crowd—the remnants of Saturday night revelry—gathered in surly humor.

Rather than spend itself, as had happened on previous similar occasions, the situation simmered and then heated into boiling intensity as growing hordes stoked the flames of defiance.

## HENRY W. MAIER

*Mayor Maier of Milwaukee wrote this article especially for NATION'S CITIES.*

■ NO MAYOR can have a lonelier or more desolate moment than when word comes in the night that part of his city is in flames.

The police radio crackles with reports of sniper fire. Widespread looting is reported. The fire department radio reports a number of fires started by Molotov cocktails—and, as the evening goes on, the firemen report that they are unable to reach some of the fires because of sniper fire.

Word comes in that people have been hurt. A number of your officers are wounded. One is killed.

You've been on the hot line with the governor's office from the beginning, reporting on the situation, alerting him to the possibility of the need for National Guard troops. You've called the attorney general's office in Washington, apprising him of the situation—just in case.

At 2:26 in the morning, your police chief advises you that he believes the National Guard is needed.

*Continued on Page 6*

*Continued on Page 7*

*Continued on Page 9*



Addonizio



Cavanagh



Maier



Hightower



Volk

## **ADDONIZIO** Continued

fools and professional urbanists who play with words consider the suburban rings around a city to be urban, at least in the sense that most people understand the word "urban."

Redistricting, for instance, will continue to shift more to the suburbs, for that is where the growth is.

Indeed, the first thing redistricting did for Newark was to cost it a congressman.

Furthermore, it is "a delusion" to presume that the self-interest of middle class Americans links them with the needs of the poor in the cities.

For, in truth, rising expectations are not only a part of ghetto life, but a part of American life. Affluent Americans are gripped more by the need to buy a vacation home, a sports car for their college-bound son and a second color television set than they are with sharing their affluence with the poor.

As for the belief that power and poverty are linked, that is too simple to be true. Also the belief that the poor, the black, or anybody else could eliminate poverty by achieving local political power is also nonsense.

The image of a local so-called power structure with a vested interest in poverty is so absurd but so widely held that it is the greatest despair in the lives of all mayors, particularly those of us in the North.

First of all, the phrase "power structure" has no real meaning. We live in a pluralist society, where various groups exercise different degrees of power in different situations. However, that is hard to explain to a public which doesn't care about the cities or government in the first place. They prefer a nice, simple-minded phrase like "power structure" and it is now part of the mythology of our cities.

City governments did not create poverty and are without the tools to attack the problem, and anybody who argues otherwise is either ignorant about the real conditions in American cities today or interested in feeding city governments to the lions in order to protect themselves.

The first reality to face in regard to rioting in our cities is that rioting has acquired a kind of legitimacy among many people who should know better. It is a turn in American life that must be rebuffed and rebuffed sharply.

Rioting must be understood as—by black and white—to be beyond the boundaries of American life. There are plenty of reasons and plenty of room for real protest in American life, but there must be no room—not an inch—for violence and rioting.

People must also understand that when they talk about revolution, they are talking also about putting down revolution, for government must protect itself if it is to survive.

I have heard otherwise sensibl

*Flames light up the top floor of a downtown Newark building during rioting.*



Wide World Photos

people in Newark talk about the need to kill if policemen enter their house to search it or cart off their television set. Well, they are wrong. If a policeman enters your house and kicks in your television set while hunting for weapons, you don't shoot him, you have him arrested. You go to court. That is what courts and the law are for.

The easy-sounding approach may be, in fact, the most devious. Indeed, we must learn to be wary of persons who intend to use democracy in order to destroy democracy. And that is what is implicit in saying citizens have the right to fire on policemen.

It is only when myths have been swept away and the nation comes to understand that riots will not be tolerated that America can think again of the legitimate interest the nation has in seeing survival of our cities.

It is and has been clear to me that a staggering effort—yes, a "Marshall Plan"—if you want to call it that, is indeed needed. It is needed in housing, in education, in employment, in crime control, in health programs, and in stabilizing tax rates.

My own city of Newark needs \$500 million just to catch up on deferred capital improvements, such as public works and schools.

And certainly Newark has serious housing problems, but we also have the fifth largest urban renewal program in the nation, topping such giants as Detroit and Pittsburgh. We also have a large public housing program.

Furthermore the city is embarked on a \$51 million school building program, the largest commitment to school building in the history of Newark, but the fact is it will take almost \$200 million more to replace antiquated buildings.

We have the first Neighborhood Youth Corps Program in the nation and today it is serving 2,500 youngsters. But the need is for a program at least five times as large.

However, I think I should note that it is my feeling that a "Marshall Plan" type of commitment is clearly not going to happen, at least not right away. The money is not going to be made available. I think that has been made clear—because I believe public ignorance and indifference are more to blame for the lack of truly adequate financing than the war in Vietnam.

I believe the President is right. The country can afford both, but it just isn't convinced it must. It is too concerned with that second television set.

The Model Cities appropriation now before Congress is probably as much

as we can expect. With funding at the level requested by the President, it is a fair start.

I believe the Model Cities legislation is one of the few programs which recognizes that city governments need to be strengthened and not abused. Therefore HUD is one of the few hopes left to the cities.

It is a far cry from the Office of Economic Opportunity, which has regularly bypassed city governments and dealt directly with neighborhood groups.

The cities were flat on their backs and the OEO came along and instead of helping us, as Congress intended, it decided we were a bunch of bullies and it gave a club to the so-called powerless to help beat us as we lay on the ground.

Therefore, I say lacking a massive federal commitment of new funds, the next best bet is to drastically alter existing programs.

I concede, of course, that even this is highly unlikely.

For it seems impossible for the federal government to stop something once it gets it going, whether it is effective or not.

For example, some \$50 million in federal human renewal programs are underway in my city.

But I could cut unemployment in half in Newark and reduce the tax rate by 200 points, or 30 per cent, in one month by a better allocation of the same amount of money.

Such progress is possible if \$20 million were allocated for 4,000 jobs at \$5,000 per year; \$20 million for tax reduction and \$10 million for continued aid to education.

But, of course, this is far too simple. It offends the fancy laws and upsets the bureaucrats with a vested interest in ongoing programs.

Therefore, let me conclude by saying that with a fully-funded Model Cities program and a change in attitude among such agencies as the OEO and the Federal Housing Administration, cities might at least keep abreast while the nation is making up its mind to really attack the problems.

As for the rioting itself, it cost \$10 million in damages, 24 dead, and a legacy of fear, separatism, and suspicion.

Our rioting began on a Wednesday as a serious incident, continued on Thursday night and went out of control early Friday morning.

At that point, police restraint, which had been the policy, was no longer an option. We tried our best to quell the rioting but it was clear

the State Police and National Guard were needed. The first fatality occurred near daybreak on Friday morning. Relationships between state and city officials and police were fair . . . with plenty of room for improvement and better understanding.

I think the riots occurred because we lose touch with many people out in our community, many people who were not being reached by anything in these programs except the publicity. They were and are out of the mainstream of American life and they acted exactly that way.

I believe, however, that local police could have handled the riotmakers and those with a revolutionary or political interest in rioting, but we lost control because the general community, people who should know better, either joined in or milled around as a cover for rioters. We couldn't separate the hard-core rioters from the rest of the community.

On balance, the Newark riots were not very much different from those anywhere else. In fact, after four years of hard work and freedom from racial unrest, it was disheartening to see how closely our rioting followed the script in places where nothing had been done. ■

## CAVANAGH Continued

By 7:30 a.m. one of the world's great cities was a battleground of madness, the unlikely scene of what was to become the most violent and devastating civil disorder in our nation's history. Arson, looting, and gunfire left several parts of the city ravaged and spread fright and terror to an entire metropolitan area.

Eight days later the state of emergency was lifted. The toll: 43 persons dead, 386 injured, and 6,892 persons arrested. Some 15,000 local police, state troopers, Michigan National Guardsmen, and federal troops were called out to quell the uprising. Tens of millions of dollars were lost in property damage, the loss of production, the forced closing of establishments. Firemen had responded to some 1,600 fires, most of them riot-connected.

And, equally devastating, was the crushing blow to the civic spirit, to the almost heroic pride which Detroiters have steadfastly maintained in their community.

I must confess that I was shaken by those terrible events. Ever since taking office as Mayor in 1962, I have directed the full attention of my administration toward building a climate of decency, hope, and opportunity for

all our citizens. I believe—and still do—that we succeeded to a remarkable degree. Urban scene observers throughout the country looked upon Detroit as perhaps one of the outstanding models among American cities achieving harmony and tranquility.

So where did we go wrong, if, indeed, we did?

It is not for me alone to give the answer, for we are dealing with a national phenomenon. The Detroit riot, for all its intensity, was but one among many, and I regret to predict—fervently hoping otherwise—that cities as yet untouched will suffer the calamity.

What would I advise? Not the usual textbook approaches, for they have been found wanting. No longer the surface treatments, for they do not probe deeply enough into crevices.

Fellow members of the National League of Cities are familiar with my pleadings that more national and state attention be paid to the plight of our cities.

For the last five years I have repeatedly raised my voice and I have repeatedly warned that American cities today are in a state of crisis so deep and so abiding that our national destiny is threatened.

A year ago, I told the Ribicoff Committee:

"We must make sure that everyone in this nation begins to think about the larger questions—begins to realize that the warfare on our city streets is as important to our national destiny as some consider the warfare in Southeast Asia."

I told the U.S. Conference of Mayors in a presidential address earlier this year that "our problem is quite clearly that the great social and physical programs for rebuilding our

cities and for upgrading the quality of American life are still regarded as 'frills' and that instead of moving up cities on the national scale of priorities, we seem to be slipping."

Yet, even now, despite the catastrophic events of Detroit, of Watts, of Newark, of Milwaukee, of scores of other cities, I fail to glimpse a truly realistic awakening on the part of our national and state officials. A conservative Congress speaks of the need to pacify the Vietnamese cities while continuing to do too little to pacify American cities.

So the problems are left largely in the hands of local officials who have far too meager resources and who race from one dilemma to another.

Meantime, the task of rebuilding the ravaged cities goes on. Adversity strengthens the will, and a community mobilizes for reconstruction.

As soon as the riot was over, my office acted quickly with immediate and long-range measures. An emergency organization within city government—the Mayor's Development Team—was established.

I was able to recall to city service for this duty some of the best talent to serve the community in recent years. With the cooperation of Wayne State University, the former city controller, Richard Strichartz, temporarily left his position as the university's general counsel to become coordinator of the Mayor's Development Team. Fred Romanoff, my former executive secretary, was borrowed from his position as vice president of the Michigan Bank, to serve as second in command to Mr. Strichartz. At the same time, we secured the temporary services of key personnel from leading industrial concerns in our city.

The Mayor's Development Team

was first assigned to take the necessary steps to meet the emergency needs of riot victims. It was instructed to work with the state and federal government for this purpose. Many dislocated people were housed in public housing and private homes. Food for the hungry was supplied by private donations from citizens of metropolitan Detroit and from surplus food made available by the United States Department of Agriculture.

Special steps were taken to prevent the danger of epidemic through control measures aimed against insects, vermin and rats, not only in the riot areas but also in surrounding neighborhoods.

At our request, a special team of small loan experts was flown to Detroit by the Department of Commerce to help process Small Business Administration loans for business afflicted by the riot.

Work was begun immediately to clear up the rubble in riot areas, with the Department of Public Works instituting a program of delayed payments by property owners for immediate clearance work. In this regard, the United Automobile Workers Union offered the services of thousands of members for clearance activity.

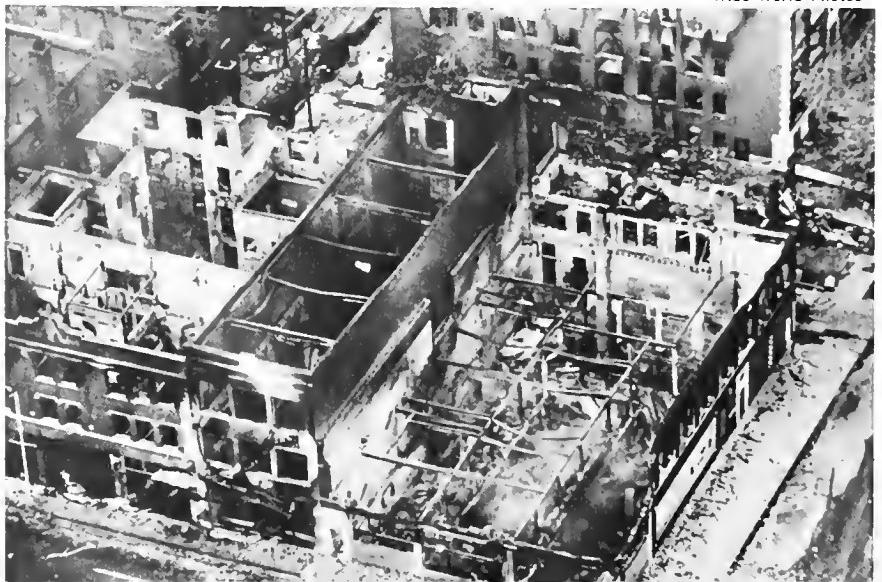
For the longer range, I joined with Gov. George Romney in the appointment of Joseph L. Hudson, Jr., president of Detroit's largest department store, as chairman of the New Detroit Committee. The committee was charged with the mobilization of the resources of industry, labor, voluntary agencies, and private citizens. It has chosen to work in five major fields—employment and education, redevelopment, communications, community service, and law and finance.

On the national front, I made appeals to the federal government for every kind of national assistance—the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Office of Economic Opportunity. Thus far, although the appeals were sympathetically received, we have yet to secure any major federal help.

At the state level, a request was made to Governor Romney that the October session of the state legislature give consideration to Detroit's needs. These requests include an insurance program for inner city property owners, property tax abatement for riot victims, adequate funding for new State Housing Authority, and important new tax sources for municipal government.

*When the fires were put out, these shells remained of former apartment houses and businesses in Detroit.*

Wide World Photos



In exploring Detroit's needs, it is clear that they are the needs of all cities in similar circumstances. They cry out for programs that would:

- Provide greater public security in our cities.
- Reduce crime.
- Reduce welfare and public assistance rolls.
- Provide new low-cost housing and improve deteriorating housing.
- Provide jobs, along with training for those jobs.
- Improve our primary and secondary schools in ghetto neighborhoods.
- Provide the opportunity and facilities for intensified education and training for the disadvantaged—financial support while in schools.
- Improve health conditions.
- Provide training in homemaking.

To seek ways and means of meeting these and other needs in Detroit, I have asked the Mayor's Development Team to survey available resources and recommend action programs.

I have been fortunate to secure the assistance of outstanding national experts as special consultants to draft proposals which we might implement or advocate—should federal or state action be required.

These experts include men like Prof. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, director of the Harvard-Massachusetts Institute of Technology Joint Center for Urban Studies; Prof. Adam Yarnolinsky, of the Harvard Law School; and Prof. Julius Edelstein, director of Urban Studies at City University of New York. All have had distinguished careers in public service and records of imaginative accomplishments.

From discussions with people in the community, from proposals, plans, and surveys submitted to me, in addition to my own thinking, I have prepared the first outlines of what I call The Detroit Plan—a series of action programs at the local and national levels.

These programs are designed to supplement the two principal proposals being urged by the Urban Coalition—for one million new jobs and one million housing starts next year.

My proposals would supplement, not replace, programs to be submitted to the community by the New Detroit Committee. Among them are the following inter-related proposals: (1) a Job Advancement Committee, (2) a Talent Bank, and (3) a Committee on Job Exploitation.

These committees would represent

business, labor, industry, and government.

The Job Advancement Committee would concentrate on the promotion of qualified Negroes to positions commensurate with their skills and abilities.

The Talent Bank would provide a job roster of underemployed Negroes with superior qualifications.

The Committee on Job Exploitation would help workers with job grievances for which no grievance machinery is available.

The Detroit Plan also would include a proposal I have been urging ever since the riot—establishment of special federally-trained and federally-supported police units subject to federal orders in times of declared national emergency, but otherwise assigned as part of the regular police force of each major city.

Another proposed innovation is for a series of Neighborhood Communications Units, staffed by civilians who would be trained and led by professional policemen, who would be under police discipline and orders, and who would serve as a communication channel with precinct headquarters on neighborhood problems and grievances. It would be both a service unit and a community relations unit.

As a third component of the security program, I am seeking federal assistance for vastly improved communications equipment and application of the latest in modern technology to improve the techniques and effectiveness of police operations and to establish tighter communications links between the police and fire departments.

This emphasis recognizes that, in any effort to save our cities and to make them more wholesome and viable, we must start with law and order—with the strengthening of our capability for maintaining law and order. We also must strengthen the respect and faith of all citizens in law and order. For there can be no progress except under conditions of law and order.

In the long run, the future of our cities—and our nation, for that matter—will depend on the energies, motivation, and purposes of the people. Decay of the human spirit can be every bit as debilitating as physical decay.

Emerson stated it eloquently when he observed: "The true test of civilization is not the census, not the size of the cities, nor the crops, but the kind of man that the country turns out."

This generation of Americans has a huge task ahead. ■

## MAIER Continued

One minute later the request has been received by the governor's office. Troops are ready to move into your city. At the same time you declare a state of emergency. In addition, you proclaim a general curfew over the entire city to permit the guard and the police to work more effectively to prevent additional bloodshed.

Did you ever watch a great city of 777,000 souls, in a metropolitan area of over 1,250,000, become a ghost town overnight?

Morning comes. No cars or buses are on the streets. No busy throng is on the way to work in downtown office buildings. Factories are idle.

People from the suburbs coming into the city are turned back on the freeways. And as the suburbs themselves impose curfews of their own, the argument you have long made about the inter-relationship of city and suburbs becomes a visible fact.

For all intents and purposes, this was the day the central city of Milwaukee disappeared from the metropolitan area. Those in the suburbs who depended upon the central city had stark evidence of their dependence.

You lift the curfew for a while that first day to permit people to buy food. You take on the task of organizing a milk run into the areas of the disturbance—an almost impossible task, because truck drivers are afraid to go into the area without National Guard protection. Yet you realize that many will suffer if nothing is done.

On the evening of that first day, the curfew goes on again.

You look out your office window in city hall. The street is deserted in the summer dusk except for a lone guardsman standing sentinel at the corner of the usually busy intersection two blocks away.

And in the evening it starts again. Fire-bombing. Sniping. Throughout the metropolis there is concern.

But, even in those early hours of Milwaukee's August disturbance, our concern was not simply with restoring order.

In announcing to the public the steps that had been required by the civil disturbance early on that first morning, I said this:

"We intend to take every step necessary to preserve the peace. This is the first order of business.

"However, it is obvious that guns and nightsticks aren't going to solve the problems of the central city which are flaring to attention all across the nation."

And then 10 days later, when I announced the lifting of the curfew, I told our city:

"Although the time of immediate testing is over, our time of trial continues."

"Indeed, it will be a tragedy compounded if we ever forget these indelible days and do not go on to work together for a better Milwaukee for all our citizens."

That television address to the citizens of Milwaukee closed with these words:

"My fellow citizens, there is no place to run. There is no place to hide to escape from these responsibilities. (The responsibilities of solving the problems of the inner city.) The events of the past 10 days have shown that. The curfew covered us all.

"There is no reason to run, no reason to hide, if we all—all citizens, from all walks of life—work together to see that the resources of our metropolitan area are mobilized to meet the problems of the central city. . . .

"Like it or not, we must realize that those involved in this civil disorder were saying something to the rest of us—both non-white and white.

"In a senseless way, they said there is something wrong with our society—that there is need for a greater respect for the law; that there is still much to be done before this is a united city in which all men truly believe that they have a stake in the future.

"This does not excuse those who seek bread by burning down the bakery—the looters, the arsonists, or the snipers. There can be no excuse.

"But it does help to explain them. It does help us to realize that the simpler solutions of the past are inadequate for the uncertain present and the undecided future.

"The job before us is to work together—all men of good will, all Milwaukeeans striving—to build a greater city of trust and confidence and hope for all."

All that seems years ago and, as I said, our time of trial has continued. With this trial a foreboding persists as time slips by that the central city, incapable of solving its own problems, continues to brew an age-old formula of social dynamite.

Every human spirit, even the lowest, has his daydream of dignity and personal worth. Take this spirit, submerge it in poverty and unemployment. Mix with rats, garbage, litter, bad housing, and poor health. Blend with unequal treatment, exclu-

sion, and discrimination until the batter produces a feeling of inferiority, hopelessness, restlessness, and above all, resentment. Then add the catalysts: a dream of something better and, finally, a promise of something better which never happens. Enclose this in a sheath of other human spirits who exude an aura of superiority and affluence and give every appearance, whether this be true or not, of causing subjugation and containment. And the dynamite is ready. All that is needed is the detonator, the incident to explode it.

In every metropolitan area the trend is toward apartheid on a scale to thrill the heart of every South African. Where once in America the poor and the black were neighbors who lived down the street, they now live in the next city, the central city. Where once there was a shared feeling of community and responsibility, these are increasingly dulled by the artificiality of city boundaries which separate the community and remove the feeling of responsibility.

The central city cannot be saved until the walls between the suburb and the city come tumbling down so that there can be open metropolitan communities in which there is no segregation by class, color, or credit card. The ghettos of the rich and the ghettos of the poor are inter-related. The slums of suburbia are located in the central city.

We must have a revolution in attitudes toward the central city. The city cannot be saved without a re-allocation of our national resources to spend as much to build decent cities for man on earth as we spend to send a man to the moon.

On the state level, too, there must be a change. It is true that the city is a creature of the state. But, all too often, the state acts as though it had created a monster and the best way to get rid of it is to starve it to death.

Central city mayors do not in any way wish to abdicate their local responsibilities. All that we ask is that we be given the tools to do the job that is required of us.

During the emergency period, working with grass roots representatives from the Negro community, we worked out what we might call "Milwaukee's Little Marshall Plan"—a 39-point program for action to build that "Greater City of Trust and Confidence and Hope for All."

It was a "Statement of How." It underscored that: "It is simple to lay our objectives and describe what

should be done. The trick is how. As Secretary Weaver has said, 'No one should lie to the people and tell them there are instant miracles. The solution to these ancient problems needs dedicated hard work by everyone.'"

Within that context, we agreed to work toward passage of a county-wide open housing law, increasing Negro employment opportunities, encouraging Negro owned business and manufacturing establishments, approving a Model Cities program, increasing state aids for central cities. Many of these things were not new. Some had been started years ago, but no one was listening.

Most Milwaukeeans, both non-white and white, are men and women of good will, leading decent, responsible and productive lives. We estimate less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent of our citizens were involved in the riot of July 30-31. Only a few, a hoodlum handful, were actually in the looting, the arson, and the sniping.

Four deaths were attributed to the civil disturbance, one a police officer. Over 100 persons were injured. Of these, 44 were police. More than 1,500 people were arrested, 981 of them Negro. 129 incendiary fires were started in the first few days, and 409 were reported in the 10-day period. Property damage not compensated by insurance was estimated at \$570,000.

Fire Chief James R. Moher, in a report made to me after the civil disturbance, stated that the advance planning, the protection given his men by the police and the National Guard, and principally the curfew restrictions, kept loss at an absolute minimum.

We had not expected violence of this sort, but over a year ago when we looked at the national scene, it seemed foolhardy to pretend that it couldn't happen here. So we planned, hoping to cut the human costs as much as possible and to keep property loss down. And we resolutely avoided making any alarmist statements because, as Martin Luther King has said, if you talk about a riot long enough, you'll have one.

We decided then, that if troops were necessary, there could be no hesitation to request them. A year ago, a "hot line" was installed between my office and that of Governor Knowles to allow us to mobilize the guard more quickly.

No single incident is known to have caused the disturbance. The real incident may have been hundreds of miles away. It is only suspected that

*Continued on Page 19*

# RIOTS

## THE CAUSES— AND WHAT HAS TO BE DONE

THE SUMMER'S violence in the cities found its way into almost all of the speeches at the 44th Annual Congress of Cities of the National League of Cities in Boston July 29-August 2. Here are significant excerpts:



Hubert H. Humphrey  
Vice President  
of the  
United States

Slumism is the number one challenging problem in America today. It aids and abets all of our problems. The children of slumism are crime and ignorance, unemployment, disease and poverty. . . .

The [news] media have a responsibility with the mayors to accentuate the positive, to help rebuild America—not just to report its inadequacies. If the American people would know as much about the Reverend Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia as they do about some of these other persons that are out causing trouble, then you would have a different picture. This one man alone, as Mayor Tate can tell you, has literally helped save the lives of thousands of people through job training. And you've got to search and search to find out much about Reverend Leon Sullivan. But Rap Brown and Stokely, they get the news.

\* \* \*

Mr. Mayor, don't ask the federal government to do something until you've done it yourself. . . . I ask this question: what have we done back home? Schools can be pressed into service. What makes you think that schools ought to be a nine-month proposition? Schools ought to be in service 12 months a year. . . . I predict there will be a whole lot less vandalism and property destruction of a school that is put to use than one that is padlocked. Talk to your school board. Oh, I know it costs a little more money. It costs some money to see a good doctor. It just costs some money to be a good citizen.

We have strongly urged that your Youth Councils continue to function throughout the year and that a summertime program be expanded into a year-round program. Now these successful youth programs require plenty of imagination and not much money.

\* \* \*

If we were as interested in enforcing our building codes as we are our traffic laws, if you put out as many tickets on the landlord who refuses to

take care of his house under the law as you do for the fellow that drives his car and overparks downtown, you'd have a different city. Make no mistake about it. . . .

If you're half as ingenious hiring people from minority groups as we were in discriminating against them for years, you'll find them. You'll find them. . . . When your cousin wants a job, tell him to wait awhile. Take a look for the other fellow. . . . Look for these people. Recruit them. Find them. And bring them in to your services.

You can re-educate, too, your present police force in community relations. Tie your university and your college in with your police department. And if you don't have a university or college available, go to your state university and ask them to set up a police training course. It doesn't need to be the special province of a half a dozen colleges or universities across the country. Every state university in America could have a police training course for police officers as a part of a good community life for the American people. Put our universities to work. They ought not to be meadows of meditation. . . .

You can and must establish realistic lines of communication with the minority leadership in your cities. I think . . . in many cases we have aided and abetted men of violence by our reluctance to deal with men of reason. All too often we have ignored the patient counsel of those leaders who know most about the conditions that we are trying to correct, and then trouble comes. We need their help, these men of reason, and we need their guidance. It is up to you to ask for it, to look for them, to find out who they are, and to work with them.

\* \* \*

Therefore, I'd like to suggest this proposition to the League of Cities. Consider in this Convention establishing a special working group on community security to identify those programs and approaches which have proven particularly useful in other cities or in your city in calming tensions, in quelling violence during the recent rioting.

### 'Combat Slumism'

■ Order will be restored in this land, and those malicious individuals who spark and incite riots and violence will be found and must be and will be prosecuted. Rioters and riots must not be rewarded by misplaced compassion, but rather must suffer the stern judgment of an outraged community and the law. . . .

There is a great change taking place in America. A new high pressure system of social opportunity and social justice is beginning to move across America, and a low pressure system—stagnant, weighted down with smog and fog—is hanging over the mountain. And as we pass through it, or as it moves out to sea, there is turbulence. Ladies and gentlemen, that is what is happening in America. . . .

And I have a feeling that there is a sense of urgency that is lacking on Capitol Hill. I appeal to you to join us now in insisting that this sense of urgency be a paramount fact in the hearts and the minds of every single member of the Congress of the United States.

I happen to believe that this delay, this go slow and take it easy and hold off and take another look attitude, aids and abets frustration in our urban slums. It denies you, it denies every level of government, the tools and the resources required to combat slumism. And my fellow Americans, if you get as excited about the curse and the evil of slumism as you are about Communism, then we are going to start to make progress.

Let's start to communicate with each other and pull this together. Let's catalog our information—not just in Washington where Mayor Lindsay and Governor Kerner will be heading up this fine Commission. This was the subject, by the way, of our conversation the other day. I ask you to do this and organize a group that can work with the federal agencies, with the Justice Department, the FBI, and all the other law enforcement instrumentalities, as well as the community agencies. . . .

We want all of our neighborhoods to be wholesome and healthful, to have good public services, public schools and hospitals, and community agencies. But where there are poor people living in poor housing and in poor neighborhoods, that is where the greatest effort must be concentrated. It is they who need the best schools, the best public transportation, the best housing codes and sanitation enforcement, and the best street lighting. It is they who have been deprived of opportunity, who require our greatest efforts. The crisis we face is a crisis for all America. . . .



Orville Freeman  
Secretary of  
Agriculture

## 'Rural-Urban Balance'

■ I take this occasion to issue an invitation to a symposium the week of December 11 in Washington, D.C., sponsored by six members of the President's Cabinet—Secretary Trowbridge of Commerce, Secretary Wirtz of Labor, Secretary Gardner of Health, Education and Welfare, Secretary Weaver of Housing and Urban Development, Secretary Boyd of Transportation, and myself.

It will seek to bring together the best minds in the world to discuss and to "brainstorm" what is certainly one of the most urgent and important questions of our time. Should we try to check the accelerating movement of people from country to city?

Today, 70 per cent of our people live on 1 per cent of the land, 30 per cent on all the rest.

Is that good for the people and the nation? If not, why not?

Should we have a clearly defined policy of urban-rural balance, or should we let matters drift?

Should we give a high investment priority to building up opportunity in rural America, or should we resign ourselves as a nation to larger and larger cities?

These questions demand an answer while there is still time to act. . . .

This meeting in December will be a first infant step toward charting a national course for our people and their land . . . a course looking beyond the congestion, pollution, and strife of today toward the Communities of Tomorrow—the communities of the year 2000 and of 300 million Americans.

\* \* \*

I don't need to tell you that there is a glut of people piling into our already over-piled cities. But perhaps you did not know that, in addition to your natural population gains, people are coming to you from rural America at the rate of 500,000 to 600,000 a year, most of them displaced persons, displaced from the countryside by the very agricultural technology that has produced so much for so many. . . .

I believe most of these migrants would prefer to stay in the countryside. If we succeed in giving them a chance to do so, I believe it will mean to our great cities a little more room, a little more breathing space in their fight to survive . . . to the point where you can run as fast as you can with some hope, at least, of catching up rather than staying as close behind as possible.

I consider it a tragic waste of human lives and of land that less than three out of 10 Americans live on 99 per cent of the land, while the rest are jammed onto the remaining 1 per cent—and the pile-up continues.

There is a growing awareness of this rural-urban imbalance, and a growing resolve, at least in rural areas, that it must be corrected and that the endless migration that is compounding your agony must be halted, and even reversed. . . .

Is an airless, waterless, joyless—and perhaps hopeless—existence the inevitable heritage of the citizens of the year 2000?

I do not believe it. And neither do you, or you would not be gathered here.

But some of you do believe that meta-megalopolis is inevitable—and perhaps even desirable—as an economic and demographic fact. And you are struggling mightily with plans to put the air, the water, the joy—and the hope into the 300 million lives that will be crowded into 8 per cent of America's space.

I disagree . . . I see a different America in the year 2000.

I see a countryside dotted with clusters of renewed small cities . . . new towns . . . growing rural communities (where the birds don't cough).

I see each cluster with its own jobs, its own industries, and its own college or university.

I see each with its own medical center, and its own cultural, entertainment and recreational centers.

I see farms in these clusters . . . an agriculture fully sharing in the national prosperity.

And, standing tall, I see our great cities—intact, but changed . . . free of smog . . . free of blight . . . free of despair.

I see 300 million Americans, living where they choose . . . at ease with each other, and with their environment.

This is my vision of America. It is one that I believe we can achieve only by a total national commitment to urban-rural balance, to the purposeful proper use of space—space that now is measured through a green meadow to the grey granite of a distant mountain by some . . . and through a broken window to a dirty air shaft by all too many others. . . .



Alan S. Boyd  
Secretary  
of Transportation

## 'Transportation Needs'

■ For many Americans the automobile is not the answer to their transportation needs. Many are too old or too young or too infirm to drive. Others are too poor. And it is the poor who most desperately need good alternatives to the car. The investigation into the causes of the Watts riot two years ago made that clear and I am certain it will emerge as a major factor in other cities as well.

Inadequate public transportation handicaps the man in the ghetto in his search for jobs, for education, for recreation. The lack of good public transportation isolates and confines and frustrates the poor. We need more and better highways. We also must have more and better public transportation. . . .



**John V. Lindsay**  
Mayor of  
New York City



**John F. Collins**  
Mayor of Boston

## 'Visible ... Evidence'

■ If you go into the slums, you may find, as I have, that the people in the ghettos want pretty much what everybody else wants. I am not talking here about the rioters, most of whom are much more interested in a free television set than the improvement of the human condition. I am talking about the vast majority of the urban poor who are waiting—with accelerated impatience—for progress to reach them. Their aspirations are more fundamental than ours, and certainly more obvious: They want a better place to live. They want jobs. They want the rats exterminated. They want the trash cleaned from the streets. They want the dope pushers and junkies arrested. They want more playgrounds for their children.

In short, they want to see something. They want visible, palpable evidence that their city cares about the conditions under which they live and is working to change them. They want to know that they and their children after them have not been condemned to the ghetto; that, somehow, someday—someday soon, I might add—they will be able to obtain a piece of the action: to share in the material and intellectual rewards that others already enjoy in a free society.

It should be clear to objective individuals that if we are to prevent trouble in our cities, we shall have to do more than strengthen and modernize our police forces or control the shipment of guns or prosecute those who have broken the law. We shall have to do all those things. But more importantly, we have to hurry to catch up with the centuries-old task of eliminating the slums. . . .

The truth, I'm afraid, is that we haven't made enough progress toward that goal. We started too late, in some instances, and we were too hesitant or timid in others. In many cases, we have not directed our efforts wisely.

The crisis of our cities can be attributed to a large degree to the extraordinarily late assumption by the federal government of its changing responsibilities to a metropolitan, not agrarian, nation. . . .

out and make investments in training and plant in ghetto areas. . . .

In the term "private sector" I would like to make clear I include not only private enterprise run for profit but our great academic and medical institutions and very definitely our labor unions. When it comes to encouraging the training and employment of unskilled ghetto residents very few enterprises, whether they be for profit, institutional or labor unions, can hold their heads high. . . .

## 'Little Initiative'

■ President Johnson has labored to lighten our load, but Congress continues to slumber, unaware or unwilling to note that where last year there was smoke, there now is fire in our cities.

State governments, generally speaking, continue to live in sleepy hollow, content to let the cities fight their battle. And the battle will be lost if federal and state governments continue to doze as cities become battlegrounds. . . .

Not a single governor to date has proposed an all out program to cope with the ghetto problems of his state. So far as I am aware, across the length and breadth of this nation, no governor has led a task force into a ghetto to see what contributions the state government might bestir itself to make.

We have plenty of well-intentioned state commissions and we have always the last state resort of calling out the National Guard. But in the quiet times between the active troubles, governors, almost without exception, are neither seen nor heard from on the problems of the ghettos. . . .

In all candor I think we must say that the private sector has, by and large, stood by, clucking in sympathy but taking remarkably little initiative at other than token hiring.

The basic solution to the problem of alienation and poverty in the urban ghettos lies in training unskilled ghetto residents to work in private enterprise jobs where they can hold their own, support their families, and join the mainstream of American society.

It will be a sad day for America if we ever decide that a system of guaranteed income without work, or guaranteed public employment, is to be the sole solution of this problem. Our private enterprise system must be encouraged in every conceivable way to take on and take up an active responsibility for bringing the ghetto residents into the mainstream.

We should not expect the private sector to do this on a charitable basis. It will be necessary for the national government to give tax incentives to companies which are willing to reach



**William L. C. Wheaton**  
Dean of the College of  
Environmental Design  
University of  
California at Berkeley

## 'Vicious Circle'

■ The lamentable truth is that in many of our communities an affluent majority is unwilling or unable to provide the necessary support to solve the problems of a deprived minority in education, health, housing, and employment. Local officials know all too well that the political support for the local solution to these problems is not forthcoming if the solutions impose financial or other costs on the local population which is all too willing, indeed eager, to hide its head in the sand to try to escape from the responsibility and costs of other people's poverty. . . .

Is it not a frightening commentary on American local government that it has become incapable of effectively controlling a serious health menace [rats] which so dramatically exemplifies our failure to deal with the pressing human problems of a quarter of our population? Surely this is symbolic of the collapse of effective local power. On the other hand, the incident is an equally sad commentary on the failure of federal action, nearly 20 years after the adoption of the Housing Act of 1949 which promised the elimination of slum and sub-standard housing in American cities. Our slums continue to grow. Our programs proliferate until they now number several score. But the basic problem remains unsolved. While we have major programs which promised solutions but are inadequately financed, we continue to adopt other less important programs which appear to solve problems and which will also be under-financed and impotent. . . .

As a result of these circumstances, local officials are put in the position of having responsibilities thrust upon them which they have no power to solve. They are forced to explain their failures in terms of the absence of adequate state and federal grants. They are forced into the position of appealing to Washington, thus enhancing the popular image that Washington is the only place where local problems can be solved. The local official is caught in a vicious circle. He is damned if he doesn't appeal for federal aid. He is damned if he does, and receives driblets which are wholly inadequate to solve the real problems he faces. If he admits that power and resources are so widely distributed in our society, that no one can mobilize them to solve even the most urgent problems, he foregoes his claim to local leadership. If he proposes the creation of institutions capable of solving these problems he is likely to be repudiated by a parochial-minded electorate. . . .



George H. Esser, Jr.  
Executive Director  
North Carolina Fund

## 'Lip Service'

■ Whatever the "symptoms" of poverty and unrest and frustration may be—broken store windows and looting, sniper fire, job discrimination, the hot and stifling tenements in the slums, poor health and hunger and malnutrition, poor schools and unemployment—the roots of our problems run very deep throughout our society and they don't confine themselves to the poor and the minorities alone.

These roots are found in the hearts and minds of every American—in distortion of the basic principles of American life; in our lip service to the concepts of liberty and opportunity and our unwillingness to mobilize for the welfare of our people the same resources we gladly mobilize for war or the race to the moon; in our persistent belief that poverty is the fault

of the individual, not the fault of the crazy quilt economic and social and political systems we have built; in our willingness to pursue business as usual or our desire for leisure while the problems fester and break out in ways we cannot understand; in our unwillingness to dream for communities as much as we dream for ourselves, and our equal unwillingness to work to make those community dreams come true. . . .



Jeanne R. Lowe  
Author of  
Cities in a Race  
With Time



Photo: John H. O'Neill

DR. J. P. SPIEGEL

## 'Urban Image'

■ My thesis is simply this: that as long as we Americans continue our tradition of taking our cities seriously **only** when they are seriously ill, we will never achieve the great urban civilization of which we are capable—yet we will continue, all of us, white and Negro alike, to suffer the very worst consequences of our country's steady and irreversible development into a nation of cities.

And, unless we create cities where all Americans may **choose** to live, not just where some are **forced** to live, our entire nation will be ill. We must—together—develop a more positive urban image and adopt a more joyous attitude about what cities can be for man. Or else we will attract neither the popular allegiance nor the necessary funds to make our urban habitats truly livable and desirable. . . .

I suggest that a large part of our urban hang-up is due to the way we Americans think about the functions of cities. Once we get beyond their use for the private sector's economic needs and the public provision of necessary health and safety services, we are at sea. We have no concept of most of the city's **human** functions. In fact, I think we are even ashamed to admit the sneaky fact that we seek and enjoy cities. To do so goes against both our rural ideology and our Puritan consciences. . . . ■

■ A COMMUNICATIONS gap between Negroes and whites is a "crucial issue" in the increased urban rioting of the past few years, says Dr. J. P. Spiegel, director of the Brandeis University's Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence.

"Whites have simply not known, or have not fully realized, how much bitterness and frustration exist in the ghetto," reports Spiegel's center in preliminary findings of a survey of racial attitudes in six northern cities.

"Large numbers of Negroes and whites [interviewed in the survey] agreed that 'the mayor and other city officials should spend more time in areas where riots might break out, and should really get to know more about what Negroes are feeling,'" the report states.

Spiegel elaborated on these points at a workshop attended by several hundred city officials at the 1967 Congress of Cities in Boston.

"The established avenues of communication by the media—newspapers, radio, and television—don't seem to function," Spiegel said. "The best way is to have a branch of city government, an arm of city hall, established in the ghetto to supply information. . . . An extraordinary effort has to be made by city administrations through chains of communications to reach the ghetto street

Complete texts of these speeches and others presented at the Congress of Cities are included in the *Proceedings* of the convention published at \$5 a copy by the National League of Cities, The City Building, 1612 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

# New Bridges Must Be Built Between Slums and City Hall

## NOT FEVER

leaders. They probably couldn't talk directly to city officials. It would require a Negro in the city administration who is flexible and open to get in touch with Negroes in the community who then can get in touch with the street leaders. Even though there are problems involved with this communications chain, it would be better than the old way."

Edward Ewing, city manager of Huntington, W.Va., described ways his city had used in getting through to ghetto residents. Ewing—as did other municipal officials present—said he and his mayor found they were listening to the wrong people. So they made contacts and met with some of the street gangs. He advised every city to do this "on a top level" and "to sit down with some of these street leaders."

"Mistrust is the thing we have to overcome, and we can't do it by being two-faced," Ewing said.

Sincerity on the part of city officials in their dealings with Negro slum residents is important, Spiegel agreed. He said dissatisfaction among Negroes lies not only in what action the city government has taken to improve conditions but also in the city's attitude.

"There's an understanding in the ghetto that there's no magic available to the city administration to cure all

problems," Spiegel continued. "But are they [the city administrators] trying, are they sincerely trying?" is the question. "It's this sort of psychological appraisal . . . that I think up till now Negroes in the ghetto have been responding to."

And it matters not to slum residents that slum improvement program failures may be the result of inadequate federal financing, Spiegel said. They don't differentiate between levels of government and, as a result, city hall gets all the blame, he added.

Referring to the Lemberg Center's findings, Spiegel reported that over half the Negroes in all the cities surveyed think the city government is doing too little. But he pointed out that when Negroes feel the city government shows a sincere concern for their basic problems by making attempts to correct them, "their level of dissatisfaction will be lower, and lacking an inflammatory incident of considerable intensity, they will not riot. Contrariwise, if the Negroes believe that the city government is paying practically no attention to their problems and has no real concern for them, then their grievance level will be high and a relatively trivial incident could release a riot."

The report drew these two conclusions from its findings:

(1) If city governments were to take more active steps to increase opportunities for Negroes and to relieve their sense of injustice, the riot potential within the ghetto would be reduced.

(2) If white populations generally had a fuller appreciation of the just grievances and overwhelming problems of Negroes in the ghetto, they would give stronger support to their city governments to promote change and to correct the circumstances which give rise to the strong feelings of resentment now characteristic of ghetto populations."

The survey found that Negro dissatisfaction was highest in three vital areas: growth of job opportunities, opening of housing opportunities, and general discontent with local government efforts to solve these problems.

What effect have the riots had in producing change in the Negro's lot? The violence center's study reports:

"Although the numbers vary from city to city, sizable percentages of both whites and Negroes agree that 'riots have brought about some long-delayed action by the city governments to help the Negro community.' The benefits perceived by both groups range from such psychological matters as focusing attention on Negroes'

needs and problems to the concrete steps of providing more jobs and better housing. . . .

"It would seem possible that though Negroes do not particularly like being the 'squeaky wheel,' they are coming to the conclusion that only intense forms of social protest can bring relief from social injustice. The survey turned up some indirect evidence that this may well be the predominant feeling in the ghetto."

The survey also reported evidence "that a high proportion of southern-born Negroes living in the [northern city] ghetto increases the possibility that a city will have a riot."

Asked if national television reporting of riots had an effect on other areas of the country, Spiegel replied:

"I just don't know . . . [but] it is unlikely that it would not. . . . I would just be amazed if there were not" an effect.

When riots do occur, Spiegel told city officials at the workshop, they usually follow the same four-stage pattern:

**Triggering Event Stage**—The event can be trivial (in cities where the grievance level is high) or major (in cities where the grievance level is low). But in each case it is something perceived by the Negro community as unjust and insulting. The event most often involves police action.

**Uncertain Stage**—The situation immediately after the triggering event is in a state of flux: both sides are watchful of the reactions of the other and it is still possible to prevent a riot.

**Roman Holiday" or "Game" Stage**—Usually conducted by youths 12 years old and up. Rocks are thrown, windows are broken, police are baited, and the youths are chased. "I have seen it myself," Spiegel said. "One hears an enormous amount of laughter. My third ear—my psychiatrist's ear—tells me that it is more a tension release than a response to something the kids think is funny. It becomes like a football game. Every time there is a hit, it is like a goal. At this stage, it still has a game-like structure and there's still a possibility of cooling things off and averting a real riot."

**Riot Stage**—If the confrontation goes on, however, older youths and young adults enter into it. "The play ends," Spiegel said. "Parents join in, especially as stories spread about how their children who were arrested are allegedly being treated. It's now like a war, and the war-like attitude, the hostility, is directed mostly against the police. All 'give' has now gone out of the riot. It has to run its course." ■

■ WILL THE URBAN COALITION become "just another well-intentioned, crisis-inspired, one-day attempt to spark urban change" or will it become the vehicle to "mobilize . . . unused resources" throughout the nation's urban communities "to do battle with urban blight"?

Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City spoke these words as he keynoted the Emergency Convocation of the Urban Coalition in Washington Aug. 24. It was a meeting without precedent: 1,200 leaders representing America's city governments, business, labor, religious, and civil rights interests, gathered to express with one voice their concern and determination for action to deal with the urban crisis.

Delegates from these five sectors of American life approved a "Statement of Principles, Goals, and Commitments" drafted by a 33-man steering committee whose members came right from the pages of *Who's Who*; among them: David Rockefeller, Henry Ford II, George Meany, Walter Reuther, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and Mayors Tate, Lindsay, Daley, Barr, Cavanagh, Naftalin, Graham, Allen, and Collins.

Included in the statement [see accompanying text] were calls for an emergency national work program to provide a million jobs for the unemployed and a national program to build a million housing units a year for the next five years for lower-income families. Business and labor leaders committed their efforts to an all-out attack on the unemployment problem, in-

# THE URBAN

cluding a re-evaluation of those testing procedures and employment standards which "unnecessarily bar many persons from gainful employment by business or access to union membership."

(One mayor said he was particularly anxious to take this section of the statement home to show local labor leaders who have been slow in changing their biased apprenticeship programs.)

And the Coalition declared that it was time for the American people and Congress to reorder national priorities to provide additional civil rights legislation on housing, job-training, and anti-poverty programs.

The Coalition's first attempt at getting across its views to Congress had limited success. A group from the Coalition had lunch the day of the convocation with House Speaker McCormack and other Democratic Congressional leaders. (Although invited, no Republican Congressional leaders attended.) As later reported to the convocation by Detroit's Mayor Cavanagh, it was obvious the Congress did not share the same sense of urgency as that held by the Coalition.

White House reaction to the Coalition's statement was subdued. The President was reported as feeling it best to concentrate on getting Congressional ap-

## COALITION TEXT: Jobs, Housing, Reconstruction

We are united in the following convictions:

We believe the tangible effects of the urban riots in terms of death, injury, and property damage, horrifying though they are, are less to be feared than the intangible damage to men's minds.

We believe it is the government's duty to maintain law and order.

We believe that our thoughts and actions should be directed to the deep-rooted and historic problems of the cities. . . .

We believe the American people and the Congress must reorder national priorities, with a commitment of resources equal to the magnitude of the problems we face. The crisis requires a new dimension of effort in both the public and private sectors, working together to provide jobs, housing, education, and the other needs of our cities.

We believe the Congress must move without delay on urban programs. The country can wait no longer for measures

that have too long been denied the people of the cities and the nation as a whole—additional civil rights legislation, adequately funded model cities, anti-poverty, housing, education, and job-training programs, and a host of others.

\* \* \*

This Convocation calls upon the nation to end once and for all the shame of poverty and general affluence. Government and business must accept responsibility to provide all Americans with opportunity to earn an adequate income. Private industry must greatly accelerate its efforts to recruit, train, and hire the hard-core unemployed. When the private sector is unable to provide employment to those who are both able and willing to work, then in a free society the government must of necessity assume the responsibility and act as the employer of last resort or must assure adequate income levels for those who are unable to work.

**Emergency Work Program**—This Convocation calls upon the Federal Government to develop an emergency work program to provide jobs and new training opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed consistent with the following principles:

- The Federal Government must enlist the cooperation of government at all levels and of private industry to assure that meaningful, productive work is available to everyone willing and able to work.

- To create socially useful jobs, the emergency work program should concentrate on the huge backlog of employment needs in parks, streets, slums, countryside, schools, colleges, libraries, and hospitals. To this end an emergency work program should be initiated and should have as its first goal putting at least one million of the presently unemployed into productive work at the earliest possible moment.

# COALITION

proval of pending Administration urban programs before trying larger and more costly schemes. Later, there were reports the White House was preparing a new urban legislative package for next year's session.

So in lieu of becoming, overnight, a massive new "urban lobby" (which many of the delegates want the Coalition to become), the delegates and sponsors of the convocation decided to take the following immediate steps toward achieving its goals:

- The establishment of five national emergency task forces on public service employment, private employment, educational disparities, reconstruction investment and urban development, and equal housing opportunities. (By mid September there had been a significant first step when major insurance companies announced they had raised a \$1 billion loan fund to bring housing and jobs to city slum areas which they had previously avoided because of the financial risk.)
- The formation of local coalitions made up of the same leadership cross-section as the national to begin the task of implementing the goals on the community level.

It was on this latter practical "what can we do now"

*Continued on Page 18*



Photo: Rowland Scherman

MAYOR JOHN V. LINDSAY

## New Alliance Seeks Grassroots Support for Massive Action in the Cities

## ducation Programs, 'To End the Shame of Poverty'

• The program must provide meaningful jobs—not dead-end, make work projects—so that the employment experience gained adds to the capabilities and broadens the opportunities of the employees to become productive members of the permanent work force of our nation.

• Basic education, training, and counseling must be an integral part of the program to assure extended opportunities for upward job mobility and to improve employee productivity. Funds for training, education, and counseling should be made available to private industry as well as to public and private nonprofit agencies.

• Funds for employment should be made available to local and state governments, nonprofit institutions, and federal agencies able to demonstrate their ability to use labor productively without reducing existing levels of employment or undercutting existing labor standards

or wages which prevail for comparable work or services in the area but are not less than the federal minimum wage.

• Such a program should seek to qualify new employees to become part of the regular work force and that normal performance standards are met.

\* \* \*

**Private Employment, Assistance, and Investment**—All representatives of the private sector in this Urban Coalition decisively commit themselves to assist the deprived among us to achieve full participation in the economy as self-supporting citizens. We pledge full-scale private endeavor through creative job training and employment, managerial assistance, and basic investment in all phases of urban development. . . .

We propose to initiate an all-out attack on the unemployment problem through the following steps:

- In cooperation with government, to move systematically and directly into

the ghettos and barrios to seek out the unemployed and underemployed and enlist them in basic and positive private training and employment programs. We will reevaluate our current testing procedures and employment standards so as to modify or eliminate those practices and requirements that unnecessarily bar many persons from gainful employment by business or access to union membership.

• To create a closer relationship between private employers and public training and emergency employment programs to widen career opportunities for our disadvantaged citizens. To this end, we will proceed immediately to promote "Earn and Learn Centers" in depressed urban areas that might well be the joint venture of business, labor, and local government. . . .

We pledge to mobilize the managerial resources and experience of the private sector in every way possible. We will

*Continued on Page 18*

# THE URBAN COALITION

plane which prompted Mayor Lindsay to spell out his ideas for the delegates:

"Mayors must establish direct communication with ghetto residents—to bring them into the mainstream of American life. We should take as our special mandate . . . those youths under 25 . . . who possess the power to spark either creative change or fiery holocaust."

"Labor must break down antiquated and artificial barriers to apprenticeship and membership. The skills which have been long developed and closely guarded must be passed to those who lack the means to earn a livelihood.

"Business must undertake an aggressive campaign to recruit and train the unemployed and under-employed. We need affirmative programs, with new employment standards, more flexible testing procedures and new job classifications.

"Religious leaders must support the efforts of the central city poor, and not be content with a conscientious—yet often theoretical—concern for their woes. Our churches must bring together the despairing slum-dweller with the affluent suburbanite—bridging the critical geographic and economic gap which remains unaffected by any government program."

That, in a nutshell, is what the Urban Coalition is all about: individual efforts by members of America's

local government, business, labor, religious and civil rights communities that will amount to a national push to rid urban areas of decay—both physical and social.

Patrick Healy, executive director of the National League of Cities (with Urban America, Inc., and the U.S. Conference of Mayors one of the Coalition's sponsoring organizations) gave his personal view on the Coalition's prospects for success:

"In spite of the personal involvement of the top leadership of the private sector of American life today . . . the so-called 'Urban Coalition' will prove to be merely a flash in the pan, *unless* there is considerable, sustained follow-up.

"This will require:

"1) Effective work by the five special task forces at the national level, and

"2) Vigorous and determined organization of counterpart local coalitions in every urban center in the country, dedicated to the same commitments and working for their accomplishment.

"The 'sense of urgency' now so evidently lacking in the leadership of both parties in the Congress will have to be developed by pressure from the grass roots."

And where will the impetus come for the formation of local urban coalitions? Mayor James H. J. Tate of Philadelphia, new National League of Cities president, had the answer. Said he:

"City Hall must serve as the catalyst for reaching community consensus." ■

## COALITION TEXT

expand part-time and full-time assistance to small business development. We will strive to help residents of these areas both to raise their level of managerial know-how and to obtain private and public investment funds for development. We will work more closely with public agencies to assist in the management of public projects. We will encourage more leaders in the private sector to get directly and personally involved in urban problems so that they may gain a deeper understanding of these problems and be of greater assistance.

We pledge our best efforts to develop means by which major private investment may be attracted to the renovation of deteriorating neighborhoods in our cities. We will explore and encourage governmental incentives to expedite private investment. We will develop new methods of combining investment and managerial assistance so that the residents may achieve a leadership position in the development of their areas.

**Housing, Reconstruction, and Education**—This Convocation calls upon the

nation to take bold and immediate action to fulfill the national need to provide "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" with guarantees of equal access to all housing, new and existing. The Urban Coalition shall, as its next order of business, address itself to the development of a broad program of urban reconstruction and advocacy of appropriate public and private action to move toward these objectives, including the goal of rehabilitation and construction of at least a million housing units for lower-income families annually.

This Convocation calls upon the nation to create educational programs that will equip all young Americans for full and productive participation in our society to the full potential of their abilities. This will require concentrated compensatory programs to equalize opportunities for achievement. Early childhood education must be made universal. Work and study programs must be greatly expanded to enlist those young people who now drop out of school. Financial barriers that now deny to youngsters from low-income families the opportunity for higher education must be

eliminated. Current programs must be increased sufficiently to wipe out adult illiteracy within five years.

This Convocation calls upon local government, business, labor, religion, and civil rights groups to create counterpart local coalitions where they do not exist to support and supplement this declaration of principles.

This Convocation calls upon all Americans to apply the same determination to these programs that they have to past emergencies. We are confident that, given this commitment, our society has the ingenuity to allocate its resources and devise the techniques necessary to rebuild cities and still meet our other national obligations without impairing our financial integrity. Out of past emergencies, we have drawn strength and progress. Out of the present urban crisis we can build cities that are places, not of disorder and despair, but of hope and opportunity. The task we set for ourselves will not be easy, but the needs are massive and urgent, and the hour is late. We pledge ourselves to this goal for as long as it takes to accomplish it. We ask the help of the Congress and the Nation.

**MAIER** Continued

the example of the Detroit riot which shortly preceded Milwaukee's intensified a turbulence already wrought by the inflammatory statements of men like Rap Brown. And there was the example of riots in Newark and other cities. Police had discovered some caches of fire bombs before the outbreak.

Occasional incendiary fires still break out, principally in empty buildings. The character of those involved may be indicated by an incident which occurred early in September when two boys, 15 and 17 years old, were burned by the fumes of a Molotov cocktail they were igniting in a vacant building. Older people were also involved in the riot, and the man charged with the murder of a police officer at the height of the disturbance was a Negro school janitor in his fifties.

Public reaction to the 10 days of curfew regulations was excellent. In all, nine curfew proclamations were issued. On July 31 a total curfew was proclaimed and no one was allowed on the streets, except for the period 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. Then only grocery stores were permitted to open and food purchases could be made. On August 1 the curfew was lifted between the hours of 6 a.m. and 7 p.m. Thereafter the period of lifting was gradually extended until the emergency was declared at an end on August 9.

Throughout the entire period of 10 days, the sale of weapons or ammunition and the sale of inflammables were banned, other than gasoline into gas tanks of automobiles. Bars and liquor stores were closed, and no intoxicants could be sold for the first five days of curfew.

Some citizens at first feared that the curfew may have been lifted too soon, but the peak and the trend of the disturbance were followed closely through reports of the fire and police departments. As these showed an easing of the situation, the emergency restrictions were relaxed.

Decency and good humor which are characteristic of most Milwaukeeans prevailed under these trying conditions. Mothers acclaim the curfew for restoring "togetherness" in their families—none worried where their children were at night. Then there was the Negro family that took in an old white woman who lived alone so she would be safe on that first Sunday night; the two young Negro men who walked to the grocery store with a young white father in the core area to guard him while he shopped



Wide World Photos

*National Guardsmen enforce the curfew on one of Milwaukee's usually busy streets.*

for needed baby food; the many Negro families that brought groceries for the white families in the core area so they would not have to leave their homes.

We hope it is over, but there are still those, both Negro and white, who continue to march and talk vaguely of violence unless their demands are satisfied, now! Instant happiness is still a vogue with some. ■

### **RAYMOND L. HIGHTOWER**

*Mayor Hightower of Kalamazoo, Mich., made this statement as part of a speech he gave last month to the Michigan Municipal League.*

■ IT DOES NOT TAKE a very profound analysis of the summer disorders to detect a basic conflict in every city with a police force and a considerable Negro population.

The hostility between youth and police has been revealed in such statistical reports of crime as the Uniform Crime Reports for many years. Another thing which may be found in the Reports, but in general has not been emphasized, is the fact that the enmity between the police and the youth of the Negro community is extreme to the point of open warfare, rebellion, and rioting. The law-abiding elements among the Negroes have wide sympathy with this hostility, and use their influence to try to get over to the whites that there is extensive police brutality. We must recognize the reality and great danger of this hostility. There has been very little evidence that Communists or black power advocates have done much toward carrying disorder from one city to another, but every city which has reported trouble in the streets has seen

the sharpness of the animosity between the Negro citizens and the police.

In city after city, following rock-throwing, fires, shooting, explosions, and looting, the accusations build up on each side. One group comes with their supporters shouting slogans for law and order, while the other shouts for justice, equality of opportunity, and rights of citizens to be free from police oppression. This misunderstanding and violent hostility are surely factors in enviscerating the cities.

Here is where we must do something boldly and quickly. This situation cannot be mollified by jobs or vocational education. It has gone too far to be solved by increasing the number and powers of police forces; it has gone too far to be solved by more money, housing, and jobs in the Negro ghetto.

The federal government has greatly assisted in the education of urban policemen, especially through the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; it could render a great service by taking the lead in new educational approaches, perhaps under the Attorney General, but outside the FBI. Already private agencies are undertaking to promote varieties of community organizations; there are many reasons to believe that one arm of the police department should be devoted to this service.

To assist the cities in these matters there should be further study of corporate and group responsibilities for the maintenance of the law in the urban neighborhoods. Our present laws on arrests are utterly inadequate for keeping the peace in the modern city. How can a policeman know who

*Continued on Page 24*

## Negro Councilmen Look at the Future

# NEW VOICES from City Hall



■ HOW DOES the Negro community and its local leadership view prospective political power as a means of achieving its goals?

Have the summer's riots been a setback for responsible Negro leadership seeking election to municipal office?

These and other related questions prompted NATION'S CITIES to ask a number of Negro city councilmen, aldermen, and commissioners throughout the country for their opinions. For they represent what some observers feel to be the "wave of the future," the vanguard of increasing Negro representation on city governing bodies as the percentage of Negro residents rises in many American cities.

And as the number of Negroes on city councils grows, many of these new municipal leaders (particularly if they were considered "militants" prior to election) may have to face up to the dilemma posed by their desire, on the one hand, to become a part of the "power structure," and their determination, on the other, to remain free of white control. Charles E. Silberman noted in his *Crisis in Black and White*:

"For if Negroes are to be elected and appointed to high office—if they are, in fact, to enter the 'power structure' and help shape the decisions that count—

they will have to give up a good deal of their freedom to criticize and protest. This is the price of power. No member of a city, state or federal administration can expect to keep any influence over that administration if he is always denouncing it; to be an effective advocate of Negro interests within the power structure, he must abandon his role as social actionist. He cannot have it both ways."

The opinions of the five elected Negro city officials which follow reflect the reasoned views of men who are naturally interested in advocating improvements in the condition of minority residents of their cities but doing so within the context of citywide policies and programs.

Their views are presented by NATION'S CITIES as being perhaps representative of those held by many Negro municipal officials in cities of varying size in different sections of the country.

These views are from Councilman Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles (pop. 2,479,015); Commissioner James T. Henry, Sr. of Xenia, Ohio (pop. 20,445); Councilman Robert E. Lillard of Nashville (pop. 400,000); Councilman John S. Stewart of Durham, N.C. (pop. 78,302), and Councilman Earl D. Thomas of Kansas City, Mo. (pop. 475,539).

■ What are your general reactions to the magnitude of this summer's riots?

**BRADLEY:** The frequency and total number of civil disorders have not been surprising. The root causes of riots exist in every major city where a significant number of Negroes live in marginal or submarginal lives of poverty, despair, and frustration in the suffocating slums. My real concern lies in the fact that the participants largely have been the age group 12 to 18 years. This age group is not responsive to reason or pleas of caution. Because of their immaturity they fail to comprehend the consequences of their acts. Often they are out for sheer "kicks." This phenomenon injects a

frighteningly unpredictable element into an already volatile situation. It is my hope that the American public and those of us in government will not be so influenced by anxiety that we will resort to what appears to be a simple solution—more riot control laws and repressive police measures as a solution. Police control of lawlessness is essential, but more important in this situation is prompt action to eliminate the conditions which are the root causes of the riots.

**HENRY:** As a municipal official I too abhor riots and why should I view them any other way than within the context of law? I also can see the character of the environment that gives rise to this fact from the perspec-

tive of a Negro. Naiveté has run its course!

**LILLARD:** This summer's riots have been too broad in scope and magnitude. It is my opinion [that] they are started by subversive elements who exploit deplorable conditions existing in our municipalities largely through public indifference and apathy. Positive and objective programs should be established by local governmental officials and the local power structure so as to reduce the number of citizens who are easy prey for the subversive activist.

**STEWART:** Personally, I am opposed to violence. But, it is unfortunate that it took the riots in the ghettos to focus the attention of the white leadership

on the long existing problems of the ghetto. The summer's riots were the natural psychological result of long years of oppression and neglect and the eruption of suppressed rage as a last resort.

**THOMAS:** Summer riots, partially the result of unrest and privation among the underprivileged, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, inspired by militant leaders, have resulted in the destruction of property and the loss of lives. This is to be deplored.

These disturbances will continue until government and business join together in correcting situations which have generated as a result of neglect and lack of understanding over many years.

■ *What ways can municipal government use to establish better lines of communication into the heart of the city ghettos?*

**BRADLEY:** Provide assistance in setting up neighborhood organizations such as community improvement, community pride, neighborhood block clubs, etc., for the purpose of providing genuine encouragement and involvement in community action programs, assisting and organizing complaints and grievances concerning public service, etc. Set up community group discussions with such organizations as settlement houses with titles such as "Conversation with the Decision Makers," community forums, and inaugurate programs where public officials go into the ghetto where the problems exist and walk the streets, talk with people, and give visible evidence of concern.

**HENRY:** Officials, led by Negro public officials must first convey by *action and pronouncements*, that they view a proper function of government, the fact of coming to grips with the historic and endemic ghetto problems.

No one Negro is a spokesman for all Negroes, therefore, the frontal assault on ghetto problems must be effected on a broad basis of community leadership.

The major avenue of communication to the ghetto dweller must be overt action. Talk has run its course!

**LILLARD:** I believe the establishment of town hall meetings in the various communities attended by representative local officials who would make a sincere and dedicated effort to interpret the needs, aspirations and hope of the inhabitants and design programs to meet these needs, giving the most impoverished citizens a sense of belonging, will constitute an effective means of communication.

**STEWART:** Establish commissions or committees for the purpose of dealing with ghetto problems. Commissions or committees that have been established should be re-structured to include responsible Negro leadership and representatives of the poor.

**THOMAS:** Municipal governments could establish better lines of communication into city ghettos by establishing a department of human relations. This department should be an official salaried group who would send representatives to the various organizations, including churches, clubs, and civil rights organizations to learn their problems and difficulties and report back to the city administration.

■ *Have the summer riots hurt responsible Negro leadership goals of achieving progress through political means by making it more difficult for Negroes to be elected to municipal posts?*

**BRADLEY:** It is hard to generalize in response to this question because electability depends upon many factors—qualification and appeal of the candidate, climate of public opinion in the district where a candidate runs, etc. I must concede that, all other things being equal, the public reaction to the riots of 1967 probably have added a new campaign dimension to contests in which Negroes are involved. This fact should test the conscience of the American public with respect to the use of a single standard in choosing elected representatives—that standard being MERIT, not race.

**HENRY:** I give no quarter to the lunatic fringe and therefore will not join or bless riots, irresponsible leadership, or lawlessness. In the context of American history I note the Haymarket Riots; the riots of the Irish and German Americans—all of which represent the resistance to progress by political, religious, business, and other sundry leadership to define and come to grips with real and existing problems.

There is no reason why I should believe that Negro municipal officials or potential candidates should be charged with the action of the "lunatic fringe" than their Caucasian counterparts should be charged with the actions of the Klan, Nazis, or the pronouncements of southern Congressional leadership.

If any one overt demonstration is needed in our cities in 1967-68, it is that of the need for electing more responsible Negro leaders to public office; not fewer!

**LILLARD:** I think the summer riots have very definitely retarded the

achievement of worthwhile goals. No problems can be solved in turmoil or riotous situations. In some communities, white citizens have begun to respect and support competent and fair-minded Negro leadership. Riots have retarded this trend.

**STEWART:** There may be some pockets where responsible Negro leadership goals are hurt but, in the over-all program, no! There are some whites who heretofore have not concerned themselves with Negro problems. The riots have opened their eyes to the seriousness of the problem. Many of these people will now concern themselves with these problems facing the nation.

**THOMAS:** Summer riots have had little effect on goals established by responsible Negro leaders in achieving political ambitions. City, county, and state governmental units have increased the number of Negro elected positions in the last few years.

■ *Would stronger Negro representation in city hall be used to emphasize (or lessen) slum clearance, freeways, mass transit, welfare, law enforcement, recreation, education, and major public investment in such basic—but costly—facilities as sewage treatment plants and water lines? Have there been major differences to date between the Negro and white leadership in respect to any of these services and programs?*

**BRADLEY:** It is my belief that stronger Negro representation in city hall would not necessarily emphasize or lessen slum clearance, freeways, mass transit, welfare, law enforcement, recreation, education, etc., but it would probably increase the sensitivity to the impact of certain of these problems on the Negro community; it would probably result in greater care in the implementation of such programs.

As an example, to initiate a strict code enforcement program in a Negro community where there might be difficulty in arranging loans at reasonable interest rates from the established banks and savings and loans institutions to permit a program of rehabilitation has in many cases resulted in undue hardship. The location of freeway routes has often had a severe impact on Negro communities and greater representation at city hall would better ensure that there was equity and fair play in the determination of such routes.

Until greater representation in city hall by Negroes occurred, such programs as recreation and, to some extent, capital improvement programs



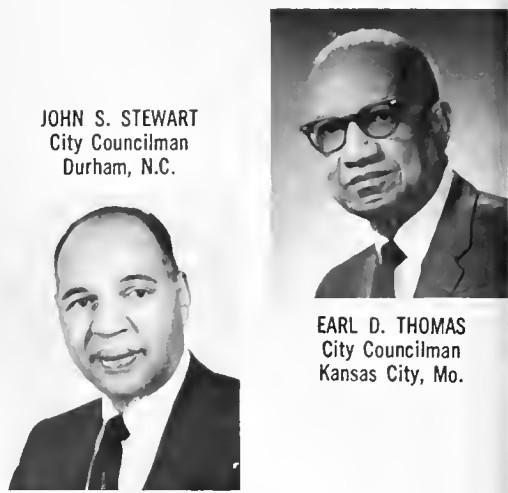
THOMAS BRADLEY  
City Councilman  
Los Angeles, Calif.



JAMES T. HENRY, SR.  
City Commissioner  
Xenia, Ohio



ROBERT E. LILLARD  
City Councilman  
Nashville, Tenn.



JOHN S. STEWART  
City Councilman  
Durham, N.C.

EARL D. THOMAS  
City Councilman  
Kansas City, Mo.

were emphasized and promoted more in the suburbs and in the predominantly white communities in a manner which resulted in the aggravation of the problems in the core areas of the city. As a consequence the recreation facilities deteriorated, there was insufficient personnel to deal with the nature of the problem and new facilities rarely were constructed in the area.

The presence of Negro representation in city hall more nearly ensures that there will be fair and just apportionment of funds and resources for the aforementioned programs.

**HENRY:** Strong Negro representation in city hall will come to grips with the sociological problems of our cities to the degree that the Negro representation sees the problems not alone as a "ghetto" problem and the result of long periods of "salutary neglect" but also as human problems of certain socioeconomic classes.

This in the long run will cause the Negro community to be caught up, as it were, in the vortex of total city problems to be solved and the Negro representative at city hall joins the capability of solving total problems.

The emphasis in every category named is not because of the Negro, but because these programs have been neglected for a half century and like all cities inadequately supported by local taxes, and by the failure of the state to give the cities enabling legislation to help themselves fiscally.

**LILLARD:** The selection of Negro representation for local government is essentially the same as the selection of representatives from any other race or ethnic group. Such representatives should be selected on the basis of their demonstrated ability, their ability toward the common goals of their communities, and the kinds of organi-

zations and groups with which they are identified.

The Negroes in government with whom I have served demonstrate a keen interest in freeways, mass transit, welfare, law enforcement, education, and major public investment in sewage treatment plants, water lines, etc., even though they are costly facilities. The only major difference I have observed between Negro and white leadership in respect to these services has been the resentment demonstrated by Negro leadership to some of the subtle tactics employed by white leaders in the implementation of some of these programs, especially public housing and law enforcement.

**THOMAS:** Stronger Negro representation in city hall would emphasize slum clearance, mass transit, welfare, law enforcement, recreation, and education. It might tend to redirect the freeway, either when going through or encircling our cities, because such freeways tend to run through what is generally known as the low income and underprivileged areas, largely inhabited by Negroes.

■ Assuming the total package of programs were to represent a major increase in physical and social commitments by cities, what would the Negro community's approach be toward securing adequate fiscal resources? More state and federal aid? Higher taxes? What type of taxes would be preferred?

**BRADLEY:** It is my judgment that the Negro community strongly supports acquisition of the fiscal resources from state and federal aid. There is a clear recognition that there are insufficient funds or resources within the city to deal with these problems. Higher taxes, with the exception of property taxes, are recognized as

realistic and necessary in order to accomplish the goals. The primary reservation arises out of a concern that after the taxes are increased that a fair apportionment of the funds be allocated to the Negro communities.

**HENRY:** My concern has been for our total tax structure in the city and my approach in speeches and writings has not been related to specific massive needs in our community for work among Negroes as such. I point out the regressive character of property taxes; the fact that out of \$45 per \$1,000 valuation, the city's share is \$6.50 for our general fund, with the rest going primarily to education. I publicly discuss the ineptitude of a state legislature, still rural oriented, and its failure to give cities enabling legislation to help themselves; of the problems of the pre-emption doctrine and the need of new tax sources besides the present limitation to property or income.

**LILLARD:** I believe the Negro leaders for the most part realize that physical and social improvements cost, and that such additional cost should be kept within reasonable limitations. I am sure that I, as well as other Negro office holders, would favor securing as much state and federal aid as is possible and practical. I would look with disfavor upon adding to the already overburdened property tax, but would regard additional taxes on luxury items and activities more desirable.

**THOMAS:** Of necessity there must be an increase in physical and social commitments by cities. The Negro communities' approach toward securing adequate fiscal resources would follow the same pattern as at present, namely—to seek more state and federal aid. Higher ad valorem taxes

are not desirable. Reassessment is desirable and should be done periodically. The earnings tax seems to be the most equitable type of tax yet discovered in municipal government, and should be substituted for many nuisance taxes.

■ *Would political goals include more municipal employment of Negroes? What would be the attitude toward job qualifications for the administrative and policy positions? Would entrenched civil service bodies be obvious antagonists of Negro political leaders? How has this issue been met so far?*

**BRADLEY:** Political goals do indeed include more municipal employment of Negroes at the entering level and particularly at the promotional level. It is suggested that there be a reevaluation of certain standards and requirements, especially as to experience as a qualification for certain administrative and policy positions. Negroes having been excluded from positions where they might get experience find it difficult to break the cycle and to achieve these policy positions.

Entrenched civil service bodies have been antagonists of Negro political leaders because of demands for change and for the implementation of fair employment hiring and personnel practices by city government. A change in the weighting of examinations where the oral portion often has been used to discriminate against minority members has been fought for by Negro leadership.

The so-called "rule of three" whereby any of the top three candidates certified on a list can be appointed rather than for the employing agency to be required to appoint the top person on the list—this practice has come under considerable attack because of the way in which it has been used. As an intermediate step in the solution of this problem, the city of Los Angeles now requires that where anyone other than the top candidate on the list is appointed that the appointing agency must explain in writing why it was done. This is not an entirely satisfactory solution because those who are intent upon discriminatory hiring practices can easily find an excuse. This problem will be solved only when the pressures become sufficiently great from every level of the governmental structure starting with the mayor, and when the city council and others who hold positions of power also recognize their responsibility for a true commitment to the principle of fair employment practices.

**HENRY:** Xenia has changed its atti-

tude in regard to this problem. Either on the basis of implications, Negroes are still not overly integrated in municipal operation in our city. It may reflect, however, that Negroes who are qualified make much more money and have greater security at Wright-Patterson Field, Defense Electronics, and in Dayton Industries only 17 miles away.

**LILLARD:** I believe the employment of Negroes in local government should be first established on a population ratio basis, and thereafter on strict qualification and availability, irrespective of racial identification. Autonomous civil service bodies in this and neighboring communities have been somewhat biased racially in the past; however, I feel this evil has been held to a minimum.

**STEWART:** Political goals should include more municipal employment of Negroes. Negroes who meet the qualifications for the jobs should have an opportunity to fulfill them on an impartial basis. This issue has not been met any way in a satisfactory manner because of the reluctance of city administrations to employ competent Negroes. The issue is only being met through political pressures on those holding political office to employ qualified Negroes. Entrenched civil service bodies would be obvious antagonists of Negro political leaders. This is one of the fundamentally frustrating problems. All types of pressures have been used. However, to date very unsatisfactory progress is being made.

**THOMAS:** Negroes would seek more employment in municipal government. I do not think there would be any lessening of qualifications for the administrative and policy making positions; however, there would be the attempt to give more Negroes administrative and policy making jobs, toward eventual upgrading. To date, there has been no obvious antagonism between the entrenched civil service organizations and Negro political leaders. Since government is one of our larger employers, the problem is upgrading the Negro.

■ *Does the new leadership propose substantial innovations in old and new city programs such as housing, education, or transit?*

**BRADLEY:** The new leadership does propose innovations in the field of education and transit. Certain subsidies which have made it possible to increase the service in Negro communities and to reroute and reschedule buses is only one innovation suggested.

The important ingredient was the demand by the Negro leadership that something drastic be done to change and improve the quality of transit service.

A reevaluation of the entire school system in its traditional techniques of teaching in poverty areas has been suggested.

In addition to the passage and implementation of fair housing laws, the Negro leadership has suggested that if home ownership is to become a reality, it is necessary that we use some of the new engineering techniques and new construction processes to build quality yet inexpensive housing at a price that the masses in the Negro communities can afford.

■ *What might the new leadership's posture be toward white suburbs in such matters as annexation, provision of basic service by contract, areawide planning, and various types of intergovernmental cooperation in such fields as libraries, public health, air and water pollution, law enforcement?*

**BRADLEY:** I believe that the posture of the new leadership toward white suburbs is difficult to define in such matters as annexation, provision of basic service by contract, and areawide planning. On matters of annexation, it supports such proposals which are not obviously designed to have a detrimental effect upon the Negro community either in terms of political influence or the community tax base; it generally supports the concept of areawide planning and intergovernmental cooperation as a means of achieving more effective, efficient, and less expensive governmental services.

**STEWART:** The new leadership's position would be to cooperate in all matters that are in the best interest of the community. The preferential treatment that some suburbs now receive at the expense of the cities would be curtailed.

**THOMAS:** The day of the exclusively white suburb is rapidly drawing to an end. Negroes will be in the suburbs and some former urbanites will return to the central city. There must be, of necessity, intergovernmental cooperation between such groups, no matter what their ethnic background. This will not be a problem because both Negro and white leadership are fast recognizing the need for cooperation, interdependence, and understanding.

■ *To what extent has the Community Action Program contributed to a stronger political identity of the Negro community? Has it been more success-*

## NEW VOICES

*Continued*

ful as an adjunct to municipal government or as a largely autonomous activity? What changes would you suggest?

**BRADLEY:** The Community Action Program has had limited success in terms of achieving a stronger political identity of the Negro community. The program in Los Angeles has been bogged down because of its involvement in a political tug-of-war with the establishment, and much of the valuable energies which should have been directed toward problems of the community have been spent in this fruitless struggle. Much of the emphasis has also been on a person-to-person basis rather than organizing the community or segments of it to attack the problems which exist.

I would suggest that we remove the suspicion which exists on both sides—government and the community—and help people develop political sophistication which will permit them to work effectively with government to achieve self-determination and to improve the lot of those who have been the victims of poverty.

**LILLARD:** I think Community Action Programs, here and elsewhere, have made a definite contribution to the political identity of the Negro community and have been fairly successful adjuncts to municipal government. I would suggest that efforts continue toward the goal of total and complete community involvement.

**STEWART:** The Community Action Programs have been of very great benefit in encouraging Negroes to participate in political activities for the best interest of the Negro community. It is more successful as an autonomous activity because the majority of Negroes living in ghettos feel that the municipal government is responsible for the conditions under which they live and could do more to upgrade them.

**THOMAS:** The Community Action Programs developed by Negro organizations have contributed largely to a stronger political identity. At the same time, they have been an adjunct to municipal government because municipal government is slowly being forced to recognize the needs of the Negro community as a result of community action programs. Where this is taking place transitions have moved smoothly; not fast enough for some and too fast for others, but progress is being made. ■

## HIGHTOWER Continued

threw a bottle that broke a windshield when he is several blocks away, and no one will report having witnessed the incident? We must effectuate the doctrine that citizens have responsibility for the preservation of law and order. Unless we bring about a better relationship between the police and the Negro community there will continue to be mounting trouble in the streets. Here both the city and the federal government ought to see a horizon of great promise. . . .

### AUSTIN N. VOLK

*Mayor Volk of Englewood, N. J., wrote this letter to Tacoma Mayor Harold M. Tollefson, former president of the National League of Cities.*

■ ENGLEWOOD is a community of 30,000 population with approximately one-third of the population Negro. We are integrated on all levels of government from city council through board of education. Our police and fire departments also are integrated. In face of one of the best records of integrated government and community living of any New Jersey municipality, we did not believe that racial turmoil would strike us, but we prepared for the eventuality.

Our 65-man police department was placed on alert as soon as the riots developed in Newark. We sent men to Newark, New York, and Plainfield to discover what those cities did right and what, if anything, they did wrong. Armed with this knowledge we drew up our operations plan in advance of trouble.

Police from 31 neighboring communities volunteered their aid, augmented by Bergen County police and staff of the sheriff and prosecutor, to give us a 300-member "riot task force." This mutual assistance pact enabled us to handle our problem without calling on the state police or National Guard.

The first lesson we learned was that we could not allow plain criminal lawlessness to hide behind a shield of "civil rights." The immediate demonstration of legal force held down the disturbance to rocks and bottle throwing and crowd movement until the third night. At that point the violence stepped up to burnings and sporadic shooting. A no-holds-barred warning that illegal force would be met by a double measure of legal force was broadcast over the radio and through the press. Our first night of quiet followed this warning. The next day

"negotiators" sent our peace talk requests.

The second lesson we learned was that the lawless element responded when they realized that the city would not be blackmailed into unrealistic concessions through the language of violence. Reasonable grievances could be corrected; impossible demands could not and would not be met.

The third lesson we learned, and believe the most important to prevent further disturbances, was the need for communication.

I walked the streets of the trouble area and visited homes. We set up meetings in the area to air all grievances. I returned day after day, firmly believe that this personal contact has ignited a spark of trust and friendship.

Jobs and housing emerge as deep-rooted problems while recreation needs, "police harassment," and "no body talks to us" are the surface complaints. We are taking steps for condemnation of some standing vacant buildings and substandard dwellings. We will provide temporary relocation housing for the present tenants. Two low-cost housing plans will be placed on referendum in the November election.

We are making efforts to obtain employment for many of the young Negro adults through personal appeals to our industry and commercial houses as well as mobilizing the resources of federal and state employment agencies.

In the area of employment, I find that many of these angry young Negroes are not equipped for either skilled or unskilled labor. They are incapable of filling out application forms. There is a definite gap, both educational and vocational. In our area there are thousands of jobs available, according to the local state unemployment office. But few persons qualify for them.

I suggest that industrial school which would also give courses in reading, writing, and other education subjects necessary to qualify for skilled work, be established to help these young adults. Our technical schools are mainly geared for teenagers who are not academic-bound with some night courses for adults. I think the industrial school should be geared principally for the adult drop-out and those whose normal jobs may be eliminated through cutbacks or automation. These persons need new skills.

If we can move quickly into the field, we should cut into a major cause for unrest. Working men do not have time for rioting. ■

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